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Ecclesia "Clamat ad omnes ut revertantur et inserantur."—St. Augustine

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDITION

Published by the *Unitas Association* of Rome. Edited by Charles Boyer, S. J., Prefect of Studies and Dean of the Theological Faculty, Gregorian Pontifical University, Rome.

With Ecclesiastical Approval

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

Subscriptions for the United States and Canada should be addressed to:

THE GRAYMOOR PRESS
Peekskill, New York, U.S.A.

Single Copy — 50 cents . . . Annual Subscription $2.00

Subscriptions for Great Britain and Ireland should be addressed to:

DUCKETT
The Catholic Book Centre
140, Strand
London, W.C. 2, England

Single Copy—4 shillings . . . Annual Subscription—15 shillings

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Imprimatur:

✠ Aloysius Traglia

Archiepus Cæsarien Vicegerens

October 15, 1953

TIP. DAPCO - VIA DANDOLO, 8 - ROMA

A Non-Catholic Pilgrimage and the Holy Father

A new kind of pilgrimage took place this year at Rome from the 20th to the 29th of June. Miss Barbara Simonds, a zealous Anglican lady, succeeded by dint of personal sacrifice in leading about forty non-Catholic pilgrims to the Eternal City. Some were Greco-Russians, others Anglicans, and one a Lutheran. Four Catholics, three of them priests, and the other a layman, accompanied the group to be of assistance to them and to be helpful in answering their questions.

This venture was a genuine pilgrimage. These Christians were not mere tourists. They came to Rome to venerate those places hallowed by the great events of the Church's history. In doing this, they followed a carefully studied plan. On each day of the pilgrimage they turned their attention to a definite period and prayerfully contemplated its landmarks. Each morning after having carried out their own particular services, they attended Mass at some Catholic church with a spirit of reverence that was truly edifying. Thus, they were to be seen at Saint Callistus's, at the Vatican Grottoes, at the Basilica of St. Paul outside the Walls, at the Lateran, the Gesù, etc. All the while explanations were made which revived before them the glorious past of the Church.

The height of the pilgrimage came with a special audience granted to these souls of good will by the Holy Father. It happens quite frequently that non-Catholics who come to Rome wish to see the Pope and are most happy to receive his blessing. Pope Pius manifests in his audiences such simplicity and goodness that they are deeply impressed, and certainly many of their prejudices disappear. On this occasion in question, the Vicar of Christ was most like the Master—kind, gracious, all things to all. He graciously accepted the invitation to be photographed with the members of the group and addressed them in words full of kindness and depth.

"Pilgrims," said the Holy Father, "come to Rome to pray, to catch up inspiration, a quickened life for the soul on its journey back to God.

"Surely, a pilgrimage that makes you doubly welcome. You come during days when the sacred liturgy recalls many of the early champions of Christianity, who poured their blood so copiously into the foundations of the Church in Rome; and We may hope that the voice that rises from out the sacred tombs and hallowed shrines will awaken in your spirit memories of that unnumbered host—martyrs, confessors, virgins,—heroes all, whose steadfast loyalty to the faith preached by Peter and Paul defied the tyranny of the world and the cruelty of despots.

"But no cruelty can destroy the Church that took its life from

the dying Christ on Golgotha. 'Persecution does not weaken the Church; it strengthens it,' wrote that illustrious successor of the Prince of the Apostles, Our saintly predecessor, Leo. And the centuries that have passed, since Paul was beheaded outside the walls, and Peter was crucified not far from where We are now standing, give witness and assurance that the bark of Peter still rides the waves of life's often tumultuous storms on even keel, a divine, invisible hand at the rudder.

"Tomorrow the Church, Rome above all, will commemorate those two bright luminaries, St. Peter and St. Paul, that have reflected such enduring glory on Our city. It is Our prayer that the light of their teaching and example may illumine life's path for each of you."

Really, none of these words were capable of wounding even the most sensitive of the pilgrims. Rather did they recall to them with a happiness of expression and great force of conviction all that they had come to seek in Rome. The martyrs, and especially St. Peter and St. Paul, who are the glory of the Eternal City, inspire courage to resist persecution. The teaching and example of the two great Apostles should be a light to our path here below. Every Christian knows that, and the Catholic can only wish that those who are separated from him may penetrate its meaning and reflect it in their lives.

As far as we can surmise, these forty pilgrims to whom we refer have brought away with them from their Roman visit a better knowledge and more favorable attitude toward the Church of Rome. No doubt they realize that there are between them and us differences more pronounced than they had imagined. But certainly they were also struck by the feeling of peace and security which Roman Catholics find in the Apostolic Succession and a united hierarchy. The pilgrims also felt that they were affectionately regarded and were pleased that they had been so well received.

All this, it seems to us, is Ecumenism at its very best.

The Unitas Association received the members of this pilgrimage at its center at Piazza Farnese, and its Foyer at the Palazzo Salviati was also available for their use. We should be happy to continue such contacts.

The Editor

Evanston and the Theme of Christian Hope

Next year in the month of August the second assembly of the World Council of Churches will take place at Evanston, Illinois. Since the meeting will be of considerable import, it is not too soon for us who are promoting the aims of *Unitas* to exhibit our interest in it. The convention cannot fail to prove an important event: the number of delegates attending it will surely be above a thousand and will represent more than a hundred million Christians who are separated from us. They will come together to assert by the very fact of their meeting a certain actual union among themselves; but also, since it is an "ecumenical" movement, to endeavor to make more progress on the road towards Christian unity. The lessons learned from their first meeting at Amsterdam in 1948 have had time to sink in. It will be most interesting to observe just how much profit has been derived from them.

The forthcoming meeting, therefore, will assume a particular importance by the very fact of its being a reassembly. Moreover, the theme to be considered by its delegates cannot be indifferent to us; it is the question of Christian hope. The idea is fundamental enough to make possible a sounding out of the deepest problems, and at the same time it presents in itself a well-defined concept which is rich in doctrinal content.

It is not likely, however, that the assembly's discussions will bear on the doctrinal aspect of the subject; the reports of the Preparatory Commission lay stress rather on its practical facets. Besides, theological debates are not looked upon with favor. With this in mind, the Patriarch Athenagoras has urged the non-Catholic Christians of the East to participate as readily as possible in the World Council as long as it has a practical objective in view. This emphasis on the pragmatic will, of course, lessen the effect proper to the theme chosen; but it is not at all likely that nothing beneficial will come of it. One cannot be really practical without the aid of positive ideas.

What is certain is that the occasion of this assembly will give us an opportunity of developing the theme of Christian hope from the Catholic point of view. For the present we should like to indicate the general framework such a subject might take.

In our catechisms we generally find the act of hope formulated somewhat like the following: "O my God, I hope that through the merits of Our Lord Jesus Christ Thou wilt grant me the help of Thy grace in this world, and if I observe Thy commandments, eternal glory in the next, because Thou hast promised to do so, Who art supremely good and faithful to all that Thou hast promised."

Everything seems clear in such a formula, excepting perhaps the

expression "I hope," which recurs too often in human parlance not to require a precise definition. The words here do not express a vague wish, nor even an expectation with some probability of obtaining the object desired. They imply instead a certain and absolute confidence founded on the word of God Himself.

We say we feel sure God will give us His grace in this world; He will give us the help necessary to our weakness in order that we may do what is right. Of all the gifts that we can receive on this earth, none is more desirable. Without affecting the pride of the Pharisee who praises his own virtue and despises the rest of mankind, we feel that we have a just claim to our worth and the good opinion of our own conscience. But such a benefit we can acquire and keep only by the grace of God. We know, too, that this grace will be granted to us in the future and that, unless we resist it, we will not swerve from the right path. We may even pray that we may not resist this grace; and we know that if we ask the Father for good will, He will give it to us. This blessing of well-doing is essential; it not only ensures our own moral worth, but also our conduct in society and our joy in the next life. Those among our fellow Christians who think along the lines of the Reformation have to be favorably inclined towards such a doctrine, which they are accepting more and more in their conception of good works. May they carefully observe that we deem none of these good deeds meritorious unless they derive from the effect of grace. We know that God crowns His own gifts when He rewards our merits. But grace has the power to lift up our fallen nature, to incline it towards the love of God, and to permeate our deeds with that love which disposes us to enter like children into the inheritance which has been promised to us. A measure of agreement on this point could lead to further concurrence in many other matters as well.

The virtue of Christian hope is, however, principally that of a joyful eternity. "Faith," we are told in the Epistle to the Hebrews (XI, 1), "is the substance of things to be hoped for." Every Christian is a pilgrim who is making his way towards Heaven, a passing guest, an exile returning to his native land, a child going to his Father. He has no "abiding city" here below; he is in search of another. He is indeed a "homo viator," as Gabriel Marcel so appropriately calls him. The goal of his journey is so splendid, and the eternity of promised joy such a long one, that it would be senseless to mind only the incidents along the way. One has to move on, keeping his gaze fixed on the life beyond the grave. Surely, this would clearly suffice to distinguish the Christian from the unbeliever, even in temporal affairs. While the one limits all his activity, all his thoughts, to the dimensions of this world, having no cause to renounce any of his goods, but finding ultimately in everything the bitterest dregs and an ashen taste; the other looks upon temporal activity as the condition and sometimes as a foretaste of an incomparable destiny for which

one can relinquish everything without any fear of being led astray.

Such is the fundamental attitude of the Christian. It is in perfect accord with a real interest and a sincere participation in the tasks confronting society. Very probably, the conference to be held in Evanston will insist on this aspect of the problem. To contribute towards the maintenance of peace, to ensure respect for the rights of human personality and the exercise of justice, to better the condition of the working classes, to promote education, and in general to work for the material, intellectual, and moral advancement of humanity: every item of this charitable activity supremely becomes the Christian. By channeling his efforts in this direction he works hand in hand with divine Providence and demonstrates his love for his fellow men not only by words alone, but in actual fact. By so doing, he fulfils one of the duties for which he lives on this earth of ours; he is preparing a better place for himself in his Father's house, and he makes much easier for others the fulfilment of the duties of their state of life. When such an undertaking remains on neutral ground, where no intervening principle involves confessional diversity, it is possible to invite people of good will to join the crusade. In the past, Catholics have often found themselves in full accord with other Christians and even non-Christians in a common venture.

Does Christian hope actually extend to such temporal activity? It can scarcely be doubted. One would even be right in thinking that for any genuine and durable progress, only hope that is Christian would avail. The very real benefits which we have just touched upon, temporal in character but otherwise truly excellent, like peace, housing projects, bettering the conditions of life in accordance with human dignity—all these are gifts of God which prayer made in the name of Our Lord has the efficacy to obtain. Then, too, the good will of men, an important feature of progress, is also a gift of God. The new man of whom Communism is dreaming, the disinterested, unselfish and generous man, is the one whom the grace of Our Saviour alone is able to create.

Another object for earth and time will present itself to the Christians assembled in Evanston, namely, that of Christian unity. The very name and history of the World Council, as well as the fact of this second meeting, will be a continual reminder of the divisions to be overcome. May all of us—the members of the Council and those of us, who though not members of it are working for unity—may we all sincerely desire the attainment of positive results at this forthcoming assembly. May Christian unity be more than a mere theme for moving speeches; may it not prove sufficient for us to feel the sadness of our present separation; may we not postpone to the morrow what we can accomplish here and now. To the responsible parties especially does it belong to be imbued by Our Blessed Lord's desire: "That they all may be one."

CHARLES BOYER, S.J.

New Light on the Photian Schism

A revival of interest in the Photian question has been in the foreground of historical research particularly in recent years. The whole problem is of immediate interest to all who desire the unity of Christians. A brief survey of the positions reached by scholars in modern times indicates that some departure must be made from the traditional evaluation of the problem presented in history manuals.

The Classical Account of the Photian Schism

The traditional account of this schism as it was conceived until very recent years—the account, that is to say, of scholars like Héfélé (*Histoire des Conciles*) and Hergenröther (*Photius*), whose authority was weighty enough to be accepted generally by others—is in brief as follows:

Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, is dismissed by the minister Bardas, to whom he had refused communion on account of his misconduct; he is replaced by Photius, a layman, after he has resigned under grave pressure. Photius is ordained by Gregory of Syracuse, a bishop who had already been deposed by Ignatius. Photius then writes to Rome to be recognized by the Holy See. Pope Nicholas I sends legates to conduct a special inquiry; these are outwitted by Photius and made to take part in a synod that pronounces Ignatius deposed. Ignatius appeals to Rome through his advocate the monk Theognostos. Nicholas then repudiates his legates and refuses to recognize the decisions of the synod, since he is convinced that Ignatius is the rightful patriarch and Photius only a layman. Then the Bulgarian affair takes place. Bulgaria, though originally evangelized by Greek missionaries, now seeks direct contact with Rome through its Tsar, Boris. Latin missionaries are sent, who introduce different customs and eliminate Byzantine influence, thus arousing Photius to anger. He publishes an encyclical to the Eastern Patriarchs, condemning the "errors" of the Latins. He then summons a council, which excommunicates Pope Nicholas and declares him deposed. The situation is then reversed by a palace revolution. Basil, who takes over the imperial throne by the murder of Michael III, expels Photius and recalls Ignatius. Ignatius is reinstated in his rightful position by the legates of the Holy See at the Eighth General Council, Constantinople IV, in 869, and Photius is declared anathema. On the death of Ignatius, however, Photius, who has ingratiated himself with Basil I, returns to the patriarchal throne. The Emperor requests and receives from Pope John VIII legates who will recognize Photius if he will perform adequate penance. Photius wins the legates over to his side, falsifies the papal letters, ignores the condition of doing penance,

treating his re-election rather as a solemn vindication of his former conduct. Far from being satisfied, John VIII sends as his legate to Constantinople the deacon Marinus, who had already fulfilled that office in 869. On the evidence of Marinus, the Pope excommunicates Photius. Basil, however, maintains the patriarch in defiance of the papal edict, and the schism is renewed. A new emperor, Leo VI, succeeds Basil in 886, dismisses Photius and appoints his own brother Stephen patriarch. The bishops agree to this appointment; Rome is informed, and Pope Stephen V recognizes the new incumbent, thus putting an end to the schism. Internal agreement within the Byzantine Church is achieved under Pope John IX, who sends an embassy to Constantinople for this purpose.

This is in short the classical account of the Photian schism, unchallenged until very recent times. One further detail should be added: the Synod of Hagia Sophia which reinstated Photius (879-880) devoted two sessions to a prohibition of making any additions to the Creed of Nicaea.

Some of the enigmas in this account and some of its positive conclusions have to be tested in the light of new discoveries and more critical examination of the sources previously available.

The Abdication of the Patriarch Ignatius

The first problem is that of the resignation of Ignatius. When did it take place? Was it voluntary? The *Vita Ignatii* details an abdication extorted by force and treachery; a new document, however, dating from after the condemnation of Ignatius at the synod of 861 and favorable to Photius, would indicate that the latter did not become patriarch until after the voluntary abdication of Ignatius. This is the *Life of St. Euthymus the Younger*, published by L. Petit (1). In his letter to Pope Nicholas, Photius himself uses the vague phrase "the patriarch having withdrawn." Another item in evidence, previously known but neglected, the Letter of Metrophanes of Smyrna, corroborates the testimony of St. Euthymus (2). Dvornik is responsible for drawing attention afresh to this document (3). According to it, Ignatius abdicated freely, but with the condition that his successor would be selected from one in communion with him, which would exclude the possibility of anyone who had sided with Gregory of Syracuse. Photius was obviously one of these (though Dvornik prefers to think the opposite). According to Metrophanes the bishops were at first opposed to Photius, but their resistance was gradually worn down by bribes and by threats. They were finally won over only by the formal recognition of the legitimacy of the patriarchate

(1) Cf. *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, t. viii, 1903.

(2) The letter of Metrophanes of Smyrna, in Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, xvi, 415.

(3) Fr. Dvornik: *Le premier schisme photien*, in *Actes du IV^e Congrès intern. des Etudes byzantines*, vol. I (Sofia), pp. 317-318.

of Ignatius and the promise that no judgment against him would be decreed or even tolerated. Photius, it would then seem according to this evidence, became patriarch by a lawful election, but he made the mistake of choosing as his consecrator Gregory of Syracuse who had been, together with his party, outlawed from communion by Ignatius. It is in fact only on the day of his consecration that the false position of Photius becomes established in the minds of the opposition (4).

The other problems have to do with the second patriarchate of Photius, that is, after the death of Ignatius.

Photius and John VIII

There have been many authors who have questioned the accuracy of the traditional account of the relationship between Photius and John VIII. Photius seems to have looked with favor upon this Pope, calling him "my John." Lapôtre on this evidence finds it improbable that John VIII refused to recognize the second administration of Photius at any time, and denies that he excommunicated him (5). This view, regarded as rash at the time and rejected by Jugie and Zlatarski, was more recently accepted by E. Amann, who on two points went even further (6). In regard to the supposed mission of Marinus to Constantinople in 882, evidenced by a letter from Pope Stephen V to the Emperor Basil in which the Pope laments the imprisonment of his legate for thirty days for having refused to recognize the decisions of the council summoned by Basil, Amann would change the date of the legation to 869, when the first patriarchate of Photius was in question; he adds, however, the cryptic phrase "at least if the story is authentic." Amann's reason for his stand streams from the fact that this document is part of a dossier belonging to an ardent supporter of Ignatius, and it is accordingly not without bias (7). The second point concerns the letters of John VIII to the synod of 887; there is a radical difference between the text retained in the papal registers and the Greek copy read at the council, and this has led to the conclusion of forgery on someone's part, Photius of course being the principal suspect. Mansi himself seems to have had another idea, one which he did not develop. Amann puts forth this hypothesis: Before he dispatched the letters that gave official recognition to Photius on condition that he asked for pardon for his offenses, John VIII would have disclosed them to the Byzantine delegation. This group probably did not find them adequate enough to bring about the desired religious unity they were hoping for, and suggested some alterations.

(4) V. Grumel: *La genèse du schisme photien,* in *Studi bizantini,* vol. v, 177-185.

(5) A. Lapôtre: *Jean VIII,* Paris, 1895.

(6) Cf. his article *Photius* in *Dict. de Th. cath.*

(7) The Ignatian documents form the third part of Mansi's edition of the Acts of the Fourth Council of Constantinople, *Sac. Conc.,* xvi, 409-457.

The revised original is the basis of the Greek text as found in the acts of the council; the Latin document is the original draft before it was modified. The fragments in Yves de Chartres, which tally with the Greek, could well belong to the second Latin edition of the letter. Amann produces further testimony to prove his position, but the problem seems to be settled finally by the following factual consideration: The two texts represent two contrary points of view about the crux of the situation. According to one, Photius is guilty of wrongdoing and must make reparation; according to the other he is the injured party and the others must make reparation. The Pope's letter, as contained in the papal register, sets forth the first view; the version read at the synod represents the other. If Pope John VIII had decided to modify the tone of the letter he wrote to Photius, we would find evidence to prove this in a further letter written to the patriarch after the synod; what we actually discover is that Photius had received the order to repent and ignored it. The Pope then did not modify the original text of his first letter, nor did he change his directives; those texts read at the synod and presupposing such a change then do not represent the draft of John's decisions in regard to the situation at Constantinople. We are led to conclude that forgery must have taken place. (8).

The alleged excommunication of Photius by John VIII.

The contentions of Lapôtre and Amann against the accepted allegation that Photius was excommunicated by John VIII were in reality justified, though the authors lacked tangible proof for their conclusions. In 1935 two new articles appeared almost simultaneously from two independent authors: the first, by the present writer, entitled "Was there a second Photian schism?" (9), and the second by Franisek Dvornik of the University of Prague, called "The second Photian schism: an historical hoax." (10) Both conclude that this spurious chapter in Church history should be expunged from the texts. Proofs in both cases came exclusively from documents contained in the Ignatian report that had been collected with the express purpose of showing that Photius had always been on the wrong side in his dealings with Rome. The facts, as distinguished from the biased comments in the documents, indicate that from the time of the Synod of Hagia Sophia, when Photius was reinstalled as patriarch by the Roman legates, to the accession of the Emperor Leo VI, who deposed him, no Pope made any positive move against the patriarch. When the emperor nominated a successor to Photius, Pope Stephen V refused to give official recognition to the nominee until he was assured that Photius had resigned in proper fashion. Since he considered

(8) V. Grumel: *Les lettres de Jean VIII pour la rétablissement de Photius,* in *Echos d'Orient,* t. xxxix (1940), 138-156.

(9) *Revue de Sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* t. xxii (1933) p. 432-457.

(10) In *Byzantion,* t. viii, fasc. 2 (1933), 425-474.

Photius the legitimate patriarch, it must follow that there could have been no fresh schism between Rome and Constantinople during Photius' second term in the office of patriarch. This conclusion is no longer challenged—it is accepted today by all authorities and is gradually making its way into the manuals.

The Decree of the Photian Council regarding the Creed

In the last two sessions of the synod held in 879-880 we find the prohibition of adding to or subtracting anything from the Creed. That the Roman legates were present when this decree was formulated has caused astonishment, and for that reason the authority of these sessions has long been questioned. Hergenröther, who supports the authencity of these sessions, does so only by distortion of the meaning of the decree, maintaining that all that was prohibited was any *addition* to the Creed. Jugie, who formerly held the decree to be spurious, now accepts its authenticity, and so does Amann (11). The matter is a complex one, and the present writer is not in agreement with these authorities (12). A sharp distinction must be drawn between the fact that the sessions actually took place, and the wording (in its present form) of the decree on the Creed, which condemns any addition, especially any erroneous addition (an obvious allusion to the *Filioque* on the part of the Greeks), to the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople. The fact that authors who should most certainly have spoken out have passed over this matter in silence, and the reproach hurled at Photius by his former supporters for having made peace with the Latins without first having obtained their retraction on the disputed point, are strong arguments against the authenticity of the decree. The authors concerned are men who wrote before the thirteenth century; the first recorder of the decree was Job the Jasite, an anti-Latin author, who soon had a host of imitators.

To avoid the force of this evidence, Father Jugie enters on a new exegesis of the decree. To him it envisages only additions to or subtractions from the Creed in times when the Church is free from combatting heresy; when this is not the case, the decree is not intended to be operative. This explanation would make the decree favorable to the Latins, the legates could subscribe to it without scruple, and the pope sanction it with a clear conscience. The Greeks remained silent about it before the thirteenth century because they had no desire to bring to light a document favorable to the Latins (13). But this explanation would contradict the tenor of the decree, which states

(11) In *Theologia dogmatica orientalium christianorum*, t. i.

(12) *Le Filioque au concile photien de 879-880 et le témoignage de Michel d'Anchialos*, in *Echos d'Orient*, t. xxix (1930); *Le décret du concile photien de 879-880 sur le symbole de foi*, ibid., t. xxxvii (1938).

(13) M. Jugie: *Origine de la controverse sur l'addition du Filioque au Symbole* in *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, t. xxviii (1939); see also *Le schisme byzantin*, Paris, 1941, pp. 125-128.

that even an admissible addition would merit condemnation as it would be an injury against the Fathers (of Nicaea and Constantinople I), and further that any "corruption" by "false words" would be more intolerable still. Also this position would contradict *all* the Greek writers *without exception*, unionist as well as anti-Latin, who refer to it; and their testimony cannot be opposed by the silence of others (14).

In his important work on Photius, Dvornik claims he has found irrefutable evidence for the authenticity of the decree by citing a text attributed to the patriarch Euthymus, whom he identifies without any preliminary discussion with the successor of Nicholas I (907-912) (15). Since the manuscript cited is of the fifteenth century, there is no reason why we should reject the authorship of Euthymus II, and consequently the proofs arrayed against the authenticity of the supposed decree.

The problem of the relations between Rome and Constantinople after 880

There remains the historical problem of the relations between Rome and Constantinople after the Synod of Hagia Sophia. John VIII and his immediate successors left Photius in possession of the patriarchal see of Byzantium. This we know from the Ignatian report which furnishes us, among other documents, with two letters shedding light on the attitude of Rome towards Photius after the reign of John VIII. The first is a letter from Pope Stephen V to Basil I in reply to one written by the emperor, at the instigation of Photius, to Adrian III, the preceding pontiff. Photius apparently looked upon the pontificate of Pope Marinus, the predecessor of Adrian, as null and void because of his translation from another see, and one can judge from this letter that the attitude of Marinus towards Photius was equally hostile. However, Adrian's relations with the patriarch must have been friendly, for he apparently made overtures towards him that preceded the letter. The second letter, dating from after the downfall of Photius, is from Pope Formosus to Stylianus of Neocaesarea, leader of the obstinate supporters of Ignatius. This communication outlines the conditions that must be met by the bishops ordained by Photius if they wish to enjoy communion with the Apostolic See, and it is extremely violent in its treatment of the disgraced occupant of the See of Byzantium. From these documents, if they are authentic, we can see that Rome and Constantinople were still not in agreement on the Photian issue. Dvornik contests their authenticity, maintaining that from the time of the Synod of Hagia Sophia until the intervention of

(14) V. Grumel: *Photius et l'addition du Filioque au Symbole de Nicée-Constantinople* in *Revue des Etudes byzantines*, t. v (1947).

(15) Fr. Dvornik: *The Photian Schism: History and Legend*, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 456-457.

Pope John IX (899) there was no tension between the Churches, all the popes of the period following the same policy (16).

The significance of the Synod of Hagia Sophia
Evidence of a manuscript from Sinai

Over and above its effects in determining the relations between Rome and Constantinople, the Synod of Hagia Sophia raised a question of even greater moment: "Did it, in effect, overrule and invalidate the Eighth General Council?" In other words, did Rome's recognition of its canons involve the complete annulment of the earlier Council, in accordance with the intent of Photius, even to quashing his sentence?

A document found by the present writer in a manuscript from Mt. Sinai brings to light new elements and should help towards a solution of the problems of Rome-Constantinople relations and the significance of the Synod of Hagia Sophia (17). The document was reported on at length at the Congresses of Byzantine Studies held in Paris and Brussels (1948). To understand the document properly we must remember that the Ignatian Report quotes a number of presumably anti-Photian papal documents in an abridged form. When these abridgements are compared to the original texts available they are found to be substantially accurate. Even where the Latin originals are fragmentary, the Greek text accords with what can be determined from them. There were three pontifical letters reported in these documents that could not previously be checked in this way, those of John IX to Stylianos (which was to the advantage of the compilers of the Report), and those of Formosus and Stephen discussed above. We find the text of one of these, the letter of Stephen, in full in the Sinai manuscript; and when we compare it with the précis of the Ignatian Report, we discover nothing that is out of accord with the complete text—thus proving that there was no interpolation or alteration. This point pleads in favor of the authenticity of the letter of Formosus and its substantial accuracy, the one remaining document for which we do not have the original text. From this we think it justified to revise the unfavorable judgment formerly passed on it (18). The Ignatian author may well be biased, but he is always exact and accurate whenever we can check with the text of the documents he refers to. It would have been very difficult for him to do otherwise at the time, since contemporary public documents were at issue. A further factor is that the original text of Stephen's letter to Basil is even stronger than the citation from it in its complaints against Marinus and its attitude towards Photius. We have confirmation for the position that while the situation between Marinus and Photius was tense, matters

(16) Idem, *Etudes sur Photius* in *Byzantion*, t. xi (1936).

(17) We hope soon to publish the text, *V. G.*

(18) We too have been guilty of too severe a judgment in *La liquidation de la querelle photienne* in *Echos d'Orient*, t. xxxiii (1934). *V. G.*

came to a head only after the death of this pope, when the kindly letter of Pope Adrian was received at Byzantium.

The Sinai text also furnishes us with more precise information about Pope Marinus. If he were bishop before becoming Pope, he certainly did not exercise his episcopal office or perform any episcopal act; and consequently no one had the right to censure him, as Photius did, for having been translated from another see.

Did Rome annul the Ecumenical Council of 869?

The Sinai document gives us the key to the attitude of Pope John VIII and his successors up to Stephen V in regard to Photius and the Synod of Hagia Sophia. Dvornik claims that John VIII, in recognizing Photius and approving the synod, automatically annulled the decisions of the Council of 869, completely invalidating them. Our text indicates sufficiently that this view is entirely erroneous. We learn from it that Basil the Emperor, urged on no doubt by Photius, negotiated urgently with Adrian III in the hope of annulling entirely the decisions of the Eighth General Council; we also find that Stephen V sharply refused to agree to this. Photius was not only concerned about his own reinstatement as patriarch; he wanted a complete rehabilitation in as solemn a form as possible, and this desire inspired the Synod of Hagia Sophia. Here he was vindicated, and reparation made for the injustice he thought he had suffered. But Photius knew well that he would not be victorious in this aim unless Rome would sanction the proceedings. The Sinai manuscript proves that this sanction was never given, and that while Rome consented to the re-installation of Photius it still maintained the justice of the sentence passed on him in 869. John VIII, did not impugn these decisions; the texts of Yves de Chartres, which speak of the annulment, do no more than produce the Latin translation of the pontifical letters as they were read at the Synod of Hagia Sophia. The Sinai document then successfully lays bare the fact that there was forgery on the part of the supporters of Photius. There is further no proof that Adrian III, whom Photius thought might be more acquiescent after he had received a letter of accession from this pontiff, ever carried out the intention formulated by the Emperor. The clear-cut reply of Stephen V, obviously not expected at Constantinople, proved to be a rude awakening for Photius, and his own downfall shortly afterwards put an end to his illusions.

Did Photius die in communion with the Holy See?

The most striking result of this recent research on the Photian question is the disappearance of the presumed second Photian schism. For many people this conclusion takes the concrete form: Photius died in communion with the Holy See. Is the conclusion justified? To respond we must avoid hasty conclusions, and distinguish between the position in the eyes of the law and the conduct or personal conscience of the deposed patriarch.

We cannot pass over in silence the fact that the Council of 869 was omitted from official lists of ecumenical councils, even in the West, until the second half of the eleventh century. Dvornik has established this with great erudition, and concludes that this silence is equivalent to the annulment of the Council. But we claim that it is more reasonable to suppose that since the Council concerned itself only with a personal issue and not with any question of dogma there was no great reason for emphasising its importance at the time, and that also it seemed diplomatic in the West to remain silent after the Photian affair was settled in 899.

If it is a question of the position of Photius in the eyes of the law, all that we can say is that Photius died in communion with the Church of Byzantium. If this was in communion with Rome at the time, the former patriarch died in communion with Rome; if it was in schism, he died in schism. We are faced with two uncertainties here—the date of Photius's death and the situation of the two Churches from the time of Formosus until the reunion council held under John IX in 899. We cannot give a reply to the main question until we can answer these two.

In regard to the personal attitude and the conscience of the ex-patriarch we are on even more difficult ground. Photius composed his two principal works against the doctrine of the *Filioque* after his re-establishment as patriarch under John VIII, his letter to the Archbishop of Aquilea and his *Mystagoge*. He was not manifesting a desire for reconciliation, and he even avoids the expression *through the Son*, used by the Second Council of Nicaea and current among the Greek Fathers. Would this latter have embarrassed him just as later it was to embarrass the adversaries of Johannes Beccos?

What of the genuine attitude of Photius towards the Roman Church? It is argued that he had different attitudes, and many of them, not so much against the Roman Church as against those who headed it. He spurned St. Nicholas I, he admired John VIII and Adrian III; the one had eyed him with disfavor, the other two with forgiveness. He measured the merit of those who occupied the Apostolic See by their treatment of himself. With this in mind we conclude that the question: "Did Photius die a Catholic?" is a strange one. We are even more fully convinced that in seeking a patron for works of Unity, we should not pause to consider the possibility of choosing Photius, as some others would suggest (19).

(19) Fr. Dvornik: *Photius, père du schisme ou apôtre de l'union* in *Vie intellectuelle*, Dec. 1945, pp. 16-28.

Venance Grumel, A.A.

The Death of Mar Ivanios

On July 15, after a long period of illness, His Grace Mar Ivanios of Trivandrum passed to his eternal reward. He had received the Sacrament of Holy Unction at the hands of Mar Gregorius, consecrated earlier this year as his auxiliary, and who now administers the metropolitan see of the Syro-Malankara rite. This young prelate records that some time before his death Mar Ivanios had expressed "in all simplicity and earnestness" the hope that "even after I reach heaven I will do my best for the progress of the Reunion Movement." These words might well be the lasting epitaph of a great soul who spent all his life in the work of healing the scars of schism among his own people and propounding to the world the claims of the Church of Rome as the ultimate guide to the achievement of Christian Unity. His work he had done well; at his death the Syro-Malankara Church, in full communion with the Apostolic See, numbered some 70,000 members in the Archdiocese of Trivandrum and the Diocese of Tiruvalla (1). Nearly all of these had formerly belonged to the Jacobite Church of South India, now separated from Rome for precisely three hundred years; some 10,000 however were converts from paganism won since the Reunion Movement had its beginning.

South India, and more precisely the Travancore-Cochin area, has been a fertile soil for the propagation of the Christian message since apostolic times. Last year's observance of the 19th centenary of the coming of St. Thomas to India was marked in a very special manner by Catholics of three rites, by those of the Syrian Jacobite Church, and by Protestant Christians in the area. In spite of centuries of oppression the Christian remnant in Malabar continued to exist in a pagan world; the Portuguese who came to India in 1948 seemed satisfied at first by their orthodoxy. Latin reforms in ritual and discipline, both before and after the celebrated Synod of Diamper in 1599, led to tension and unrest; the year 1653 was a momentous one in that it saw the withdrawal of the majority of Indian Christians from unity with Rome (2). The greater part returned, but those determined to keep aloof from Occidental intrusions in time turned to the Syrian (Jacobite) Patriarch of Antioch for validation of their orders. In this they were successful, but the price of recognition was the substitution of their ancient Chaldean rite by that of the West Syrians. A further division within the Jacobite body in India resulted from rival claims to authority—some followed the guidance of the patri-

(1) Cf. *The Reunion Movement in Malankara, South India* by Mar Severios in *Unitas* (Eng. ed.), Vol. II, No. 3, 1950.

(2) A completely detailed account is given in *Unitas*, Vol. V, Nos. 1, 2: Fr. Placid, T.O.C.D.: *The Efforts for Reunion in Malankara, South India.*

archs of Antioch but the greater part preferred autonomy under their own Catholicos. It was to this latter body that Mar Ivanios belonged until his reception into the Catholic fold in 1930.

George Thomas Panickerveetil had been ordained a priest in 1908, and at first devoted himself to research and to teaching. The influences of his early training had been evangelical Protestant—most of the reformed bodies had taken an interest in the separated Christians of South India from Dutch colonial times, an influence marked by further penetration under the British—but we have it on the authority of his own pupils that the prelate's lectures on the Aramaic language were often devoted to a confutation of Protestant errors. A celibate and in some degree a master of the spiritual life, he in time founded among the Jacobites a religious congregation. This Order of the Imitation of Christ with its center at Bethany was augmented in time by a sisterhood, both under the superiorship of the zealous priest. It was this very congregation that was to be the nucleus of the return to Rome envisioned by Father Ivanios, who had discovered early in his study of the history of his religious body the many links that once bound his people to Rome. A profound study of the Fathers convinced him that the Church of Christ was not intended to exist in isolated parts, but to be united about one focal point in accordance with divine plans. He did not hide this view from his superiors, and in spite of it was made Bishop of Bethany in 1925, and later Archbishop.

There was at that time—as there seems to have been ever since the separation of 1653—an interest in the possibilities of reunion with the Apostolic See among the Jacobite bishops. The tension created by legal conflicts with the patriarchal party had given new impetus towards a step that would lead to the realization of peace and solidarity. In any case, Bishop Ivanios was asked by the prelates of his church to negotiate with the Holy See for terms of reunion, including assurances of the continuance of an autonomous hierarchy and the retention of the Antiochean rite. The policy of the Catholic Church in regard to Oriental bodies being well known, there would be no essential difficulties on these points, provided that the principles of orthodoxy in belief and obedience to authority would be accepted by the inquirers. However, a change in attitude came over the original seekers after terms, and Mar Ivanios saw more and more clearly that he would have to walk alone. On September 20, 1930, he, with a suffragan bishop, a priest, a deacon, and a layman made public profession of their acceptance of Roman obedience and full conformity in the Catholic faith. In 1932 a new ecclesiastical province was set up for the faithful of the Syro-Malankara rite, village after village of whom had decided to follow the guidance of Mar Ivanios, now Archbishop and Metropolitan of Trivandrum.

The reunion apostolate of Mar Ivanios was not finished. For twenty years he labored to convince those who stayed behind that

submission to the Holy See would be imitation of the example of their forefathers. To build schools, churches, convents for the faithful was a task to which he dedicated himself with passionate ardor—in almost every case the price of unity was the loss of all properties held in the name of the local church. He shaped a clergy to augment the work of those who had come over from Jacobitism and pleaded eloquently with all who would listen for assistance in this project so vital to the future of this church. Among other monuments to the breadth of his vision is the Mar Ivanios University College at Trivandrum, that promises to become in time a cultural bulwark for his people.

To England, to Ireland, and to Canada and the United States Mar Ivanios brought his enthusiasm for work and prayer for unity to the Catholic faithful. In the providence of God, he could show that prayer for Christian Unity was not an idle effort—there were actually many souls outside the Church longing for the spiritual blessings that she alone can give. What he had done in South India, with the help of divine grace, could be done elsewhere for other people. But the work of reunion must always be a work of sympathy and love. There is a necessary place in religious discussion for controversy, especially when convictions based on doctrine must be maintained; only too often has a polemic based on national and racial prejudice, political rivalry, and lack of cultural comprehension been the cause of the beginning and continuation of schism. This was the burden of Mar Ivanios's address at the Marian Congress in Ottawa in the summer of 1947, repeated to the students of St. John's Atonement Seminary at Graymoor in the autumn of that same year (3), and at the Fordham Conference on Eastern Rites and Liturgies in 1948. This remained his conviction in dealing with his brother Christians in South India, a position made the more persuasive by his own unyielding grasp of the absolute necessity of looking to Rome as the divinely-appointed Center of Unity.

Previous to his death Mar Ivanios had received a special benediction from the Holy Father, brought to him personally by Archbishop Martin Lucas, S.V.D., Apostolic Internunzio to India. His funeral rites were celebrated by Mar Severios of Tiruvalla and Mar Gregorius his own auxiliary. Present at the obsequies were Archbishop Joseph Attipetty of Verapoly, of the Latin rite, and Bishop Mathew Kavukatt of Changanacherry, of the Syro-Malabar rite, who delivered the eulogy. From the separated Jacobite Church, the Mar Thomas Reformed Church, and the Protestant United Church of South India there were representatives to do homage to one whose leadership and loyalty they thought worthy of veneration even though they disagreed with him about the wisdom of his convictions.

With all of these in spirit the associates of *Unitas* join in a tribute of prayer for the fulfilment of the vision of one who not only saw but

(3) Reported in *The Lamp,* Vol. 45, No. 11, Nov., 1947: *A Modern Apostle.*

followed on the road to Unity in the faith. The frail body of Mar Ivanios now sits enthroned in a vault in the crypt of his new cathedral at Trivandrum, garbed in the yellow robe of a holy man of the East; his soul, we feel confident, is already in heaven, there continuing the work he devoted himself to so tirelessly on earth, to the end "That all may be One."

DUNSTAN DONOVAN, S.A.

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THE INDEFECTIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

So marvelously constituted a Church could not cease altogether and be extinguished when its Founder and the Apostles who first propagated it had died, for it had been commanded to lead to eternal salvation all men without distinction of time or place: "Going therefore forth, teach all nations." Would the Church lack power of efficacy in the perpetual fulfillment of its work when Christ Himself, as He solemnly promised, is with it forever? "Behold, I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world." Necessarily, therefore, the Church of Christ ought not only to exist today and always, but still more, be the same as it was in the Apostolic ages, unless we should utter the absurdity that Christ Our Lord either was not adequate to His purpose or had erred when He asserted that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

PIUS XI: *Mortalium Animos*, AAS, XX, 9

Armenia and the Catholic Church

The Armenian Nation was once one of the glories of the Catholic Church; today all that is left of it is a small puppet state of the Russian Soviet Union, with an estimated population of 1,250,000 people. Of these, 85% are Armenians. The Armenia of early times was a great country that stretched north to the Caucasus Mountains of Modern Russia, and south to the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in present day Syria, touching the Black Sea in the west, and the Caspian Sea in the east.

It was this nation which became the first Christian Kingdom in history. Its apostle was St. Gregory "The Illuminator." Born in Armenia, he received his education at Caesarea of Cappadocia, in Asia Minor, and then returned to his homeland. There he converted the King, Tiridates, and through him the mass of the people. After this conversion of the third century, the Armenian Nation remained Catholic for two hundred years. These were the golden ages of the Armenian Church; during them schools, monasteries, convents, hospitals and charitable institutions were established throughout the country; the classical Armenian language was created and used in the translation of the Scriptures, the Greek and Syriac Fathers, and the majestic Liturgy. The Church flourished and the faith was strong, but it was scarcely a century old before there began those persecutions which were to become a perpetual "cross" for the Armenian people. In the fifth century two thirds of Armenia was subjected to Persian domination, but when the minister of state attempted to force the people to accept the pagan cult of Mazdeism they steadfastly refused. Driven to protect themselves with arms under their leader Vahan Mamikonian, the Armenians were defeated; some of their religious leaders were dragged off to Persia to suffer martyrdom about the year 454.

Separated Armenia

Although religious tolerance was finally obtained towards the end of the century, it was precisely this persecution that kept the Armenian prelates from attending the Council of Chalcedon which condemned the doctrine of the Monophysites, who denied that Our Lord had a human as well as a divine nature. Hence, they had no first-hand information of what actually took place at the Council. When peace was restored, the Armenians sought friendly relations with the Byzantine Empire, but the Emperor of that time unfortunately favored the Monophysites. The result was that the Armenians, already deceived

by false propaganda into believing that the Council of Chalcedon upheld the heretical doctrine of the Nestorians, who had taught that Our Lord was a human person as we are, were easily convinced that they were following the right path by calling synods in 491 and 506 to condemn the doctrine of Chalcedon and accept the doctrine of the Monophysites, at least nominally.

The Solicitude of the Catholic Church

When Armenia cut itself off from the Church it was geographically at the far boundaries of the Roman Empire. Soon it fell under Arab domination, so that it seems to have been practically impossible for the Church to seek out the lost sheep. Yet, as early as 649, we find in the Acts of the Lateran Council under Pope St. Martin I the signatures of the abbots of two Armenian monasteries in Rome, monasteries probably given to Armenian monks who had fled from the disorders of their homeland. Again in 863, we find Pope St. Nicholas I writing to Prince Ashot, the ruler of Armenia, seeking to bring back the Armenian Church to unity. In 1065 Pope Gregory VII sent the pallium to the Armenian Patriarch, Gregory II, urging him to subscribe in writing to the doctrine of Chalcedon.

The Crusaders and Armenia

It was not, however, until the time of the Crusades, that the constant zeal of the Popes began to reap fruit. After the liberation of Jerusalem by the first Crusaders, a synod was called in 1141, to which the Armenian Patriarch, Gregory III, was invited. This "erudite doctor," as William of Tyre calls him, promised to correct all points of doctrine which were at variance with the teaching of the Church. Pope Innocent II then sent him the pallium with an encouraging and kindly letter. St. Nerses succeeded this Patriarch and explicity proclaimed his belief in the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff: "the holy president of all the archbishops . . . the successor of the apostle Peter." In 1184 Pope Lucius III, as a testimony of his especial affection, sent a ring and mitre which he had worn to the Patriarch Gregory IV, the successor of St. Nerses.

During this period what is known as Lesser Armenia came into existence. The diaspora of the Armenian people, which has scattered them through so many of the countries of the world, began with the overthrow of Armenia, by the Seljuk Turks. A great many found refuge in Cilicia, situated in the southeastern corner of Asia Minor. There in 1080 they established an independent kingdom that lasted until 1375. They became the great friends and helpers of the Crusaders, with whom they cooperated most generously. Their first king, Leo II, received his crown as a present from Pope Celestine II, in 1198, at the hands of the Papal Legate, Conrad Von Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mainz. The Armenian Patriarch, Gregory Apirat, performed

the anointing. Thus began a reunion with the Church for many Armenians that lasted, not without some defections it is true, until the fall of this kingdom in 1375.

It was at this time, also, that the great work of the Church's missionaries was begun in Armenia. The Franciscans were there as early as 1299. The Dominicans founded an order of native missionaries known as the "United Brethren," who were officially approved by Pope Innocent IV, in 1356. Thirty years after their foundation they had no less than fifty monasteries and almost seven hundred members. Although they exercised a fruitful apostolate in pastoral labor and scholastic accomplishments, it seems that their excessive zeal for the Latin externals of the faith caused them to fall into disfavor with certain groups, until finally, towards the end of the 18th century, they ceased to exist.

Leo VI, the last king of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, refused to compromise his Catholic faith, even though his conquerors, the Egyptian Mamelukes, several times offered to leave him at the head of his kingdom, if he would only accept Islamism.

Reunion of the Armenians at the Council of Florence

A last effort to win Armenia as a nation to the Church was made by Pope Eugene IV, who invited the Patriarch Constantine VI to the Council of Florence in 1438. The Patriarch gladly accepted the invitation, saying that he submitted in advance to all the decrees of the Council; he sent four delegates to act as his authoritative representatives. These Armenians were received with exceptional courtesy and respect, both by the civil authorities and by the Pope himself, who spoke to them of their "great and illustrious nation" and praised them for being so ready to agree in everything with the Apostolic See. The delegates expressed themselves in these words: "We come to Your Holiness with the authority of our Patriarch, our bishops and all our nation. You hold the Chair of Christ. You are the Vicar of Christ in the chair of the apostles. We come to you our head; we come to our pastor. You are the foundation of the Church. If there is any defect in our faith and in our 'Credo,' it is yours to teach us."

The Pope himself chose the special commission of Cardinals and theologians, which discussed at length the problems of the Armenians; everything was gone over with great care and even the Pope frequently held parleys with the delegates. In the public session of November 22, 1439, the Armenians accepted not only the dogmatic truths to which the separated Greeks had already subscribed, but also all the disciplinary constitutions arranged for them. The Bull of Union bore the signatures of the Armenian delegates Sergius and Thomas, together with those of the Latins. When the new Armenian Patriarch, Gregory IX, received the Bull, he replied: "Holy Father, I regard you as the pastor of the truth . . . all that you have decided as supreme

judge I accept with good heart." Unfortunately, this great effort had no lasting effect in Armenia due to strife among native factions and the multiplication of independent Patriarchs without any national unity. From time to time there were Patriarchs, even in central Armenia, who were united to Rome, but the nation was no longer a free and independent unit and no integral reunion was accomplished.

The Labors and Fruits of Catholic Missionaries in Armenia

Nevertheless, the Church continued her efforts to help this oppressed nation to find the path to unity. It would be impossible to narrate here all that was done for a people so widely scattered, but some of the deeds will bear recounting. In the sixteenth century Pius IV encouraged the foundation of an Armenian press in Rome; Pius V gave the church of St. Mary the Egyptian to the Armenians; Gregory XIII, in his Bull "Romana Ecclesia" exalted their constancy in professing the Christian faith; he explained that their errors were principally due to the evils of the times.

In the seventeenth century the Capuchins labored among the Armenians in Syria and Persia, where one of them spent fifty years. At the same time the Jesuits had missions in these countries as well as in Great Armenia. In this century the reunion of the Armenians of Lvov in Poland was accomplished, and their clergy were educated by the Theatines.

The fruits of these labors by apostles of the Church flowered with remarkable brilliancy in the eighteenth century. In 1707 the Church was blessed with a martyr for the Catholic faith in the person of Der Gomidas Keumurgian, an Armenian priest who was placed among the Blessed by Pope Pius XI in 1929. Blessed Gomidas was attached to the church of St. George in Constantinople. He was distinguished for his eloquence, his piety and his zeal. In 1701 a severe persecution broke out against the Armenian Catholics. Among those who were arrested and handed over to the Turks was Gomidas. Although he could have saved his life by denying his faith, he rather exemplified the courage of the ancient martyrs, by turning his head towards the east and reciting his profession of Catholic faith as he was put to death. His Eminence, Cardinal Agagianian is the author of the beautiful story of his life.

In 1701 Peter Mekhitar founded his congregation of Armenian priests and brothers which took the title of "Adopted Sons of the Virgin, Preachers of Penance." Again, as in the case of Gomidas, it was the zeal of Catholic priests that directed his steps along the path to Rome. Born in Sebaste, in Asia Minor, in 1676, he was privately educated and then entered the monastic life at the age of fifteen. While he was on a journey to Great Armenia he came in contact with the Jesuit missionaries at Erzerum and received an indelible impression of the Catholic Church. Finally, he made his profession of faith in the chapel of the Jesuits at Aleppo. The document that wit-

nesses the fact seems to indicate that Peter had always had the true faith in his heart. Ordained priest at twenty years of age, he preached to his compatriots with great zeal in many cities. He was at Constantinople when the persecution that martyred Gomidas took place. Mekhitar took refuge in the monastery of the Capuchins, connected with the French Embassy, and there founded his congregation with ten disciples.

Since it was impossible in the circumstances to enter publicly upon their work, they left Constantinople and established themselves in southern Greece which was under the sovereignty of the Venetian Republic. In 1715, however, this section also fell under the domination of the Turks, so the little group fled to Venice. There they were assisted by the Congregation of the Propaganda and the Latin Patriarch, while through the generosity of the Venetian government they came into possession of the island of San Lazzaro, where they founded their now famous monastery. Here for thirty-two years Mekhitar labored at the head of the religious who have done such great work for the Armenian people. Pope after Pope blessed and encouraged them. Their accomplishments from their foundation at Venice and from their later foundation at Vienna have been magnificent. Not only did they act as missionaries among their people, but they founded flourishing schools in Aleppo, Alexandria, Addis Ababa, Constantinople, Cairo, the Balkan countries and in Europe. Perhaps their best known triumphs have been in the cultural and scientific fields. Besides two periodicals of world fame, they have published books in history, philology, patristics, liturgy and other fields. What is more remarkable: a recent catalogue shows that they have published more than two hundred books in languages other than Armenian.

The Catholic Armenian Patriarchate

Finally in the eighteenth century began that series of Catholic Armenian Patriarchs that has remained uninterrupted until the present day. It was in 1740 when the Armenian Catholic bishop of Aleppo was elected to succeed to the Patriarchate of Cilicia. Receiving the approval of Rome he set up his patriarchal residence at Bzommar in Lebanon. Out of devotion to the Holy See he and his successors have always assumed the name of Peter. The present Patriarch, Cardinal Agagianian is Peter XV. It was only in the last century, however, that the Patriarchal See reached its full jurisdiction. From the year 1830 there had been an Armenian prelate at Constantinople to whom Pius VII had given jurisdiction over the Armenians of Asia Minor and Great Armenia. In 1866 this position was held by Monsignor Hassoun, a man of great ability and energy, who had built many schools and churches and founded a congregation of Armenian sisters to educate girls. When the Patriarch of Cilicia, Peter IX, died, the bishops unanimously chose this outstanding hierarch to be their Patri-

arch. The Pope then transferred the Patriarchal See to Constantinople and thus the two jurisdictions were united under the Patriarch as they are today. But once again persecution befell the Catholics and the Patriarch was forced to retire to Rome.

Devotion of Leo XIII to the Armenians

Here again the love of the Holy See was made manifest, for, in appreciation of this great man's talents, Pope Leo XIII created him a cardinal. Indeed, Leo XIII was outstanding in his devotion to the Armenians. In 1883 he founded the Pontifical Armenian College in Rome where Armenian students have received degrees in philosophy, theology, and canon law. One of them defended his thesis before the Pope himself. Eight of its alumni have been made bishops, and one who was made Apostolic Administrator for the Armenians in Russia died there in exile in 1936. It was Pope Leo who entrusted the modern Jesuits with missionary work in Armenia, where they educated thousands of youths in their twenty-nine schools. How touchingly this Pope spoke to an erring Armenian bishop who came all the way to Rome to make his personal submission to the Holy Father: "Oh how dear to us are the churches of the Orient! How we admire their ancient glories! How happy we would be to see them resplendent in their primitive grandeur! For such a work, in the humility of our heart, we fervently supplicate the Prince of Pastors, that He may deign to let His divine light penetrate the minds of so many estranged sons of the Orient and infuse into them that generous courage, that after your example, will bring them back to the one fold of Christ." Nor were these merely high-sounding words, for after receiving back this wayward son, the Pope made him consecrating bishop for the Armenians in Rome.

The Holy See and the Armenian Victims of the Turks

The memory of the appalling sufferings of the Armenian people when they were slaughtered by the hundreds of thousands or driven out in agonizing hordes by their Turkish masters in 1894-5, 1909, 1915-16 and 1920-24 is still fresh in the minds of men. So also is the record of the efforts of Leo XIII to persuade the Turkish government to mercy and justice; of Benedict XV to influence the West in behalf of the exiles and orphans; of Pius XI, who not only appealed to the Turkish leader Kemal in behalf of the victims, but sent them financial aid, even transporting 400 orphans to his summer villa at Castel Gandolfo where he sheltered them for almost a year. Less known, but more glorious, are the heroic sacrifices of the Catholic missionaries for their flocks in those frightful days; some of them fell in cruel death with their beloved Armenians.

Such, in sketchy form, is the partial story of the Church's expression of love for the Armenian people. Her supreme pontiffs have

ever spoken to them as kindly fathers, consoled them in their afflictions, encouraged them in the path of the fullness of faith. Her missionaries, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Theatines, Jesuits, Lazzarists and Assumptionists have lavishly expended their lives among them. Her Catholic Armenian sons have preserved the culture of their forefathers and given an example to their compatriots of zeal, learning, constancy and holiness. How firmly our present gloriously reigning Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, confirmed all this when he told the Armenian pilgrims in 1946, that in creating Gregory Peter Agagianian a cardinal, he did wish to reward his signal merits, but he also wanted to replenish "the proofs of the solicitude and love, that from the most ancient times of Christianity, the Chair of Peter never ceased to have in the course of the ages for Armenia and for its people;" a nation which "has always had in the Roman Pontiff its defender and its advocate." Then he cited the response of the choir in the Armenian Liturgy: "Oh Christ . . . through the intercession of your celestial Dominations, keep us and render resolute the See of Armenia" and added, "Such is the desire of our heart for you."

James L. Monks, S.J.

Behind the Iron Curtain

The Subordination of the Church to the State

(*Concluded*)

This is the ulterior aim of the Communist Governments (the ultimate aim is to "liquidate" them altogether)—to reduce the Church to the level of a State-department that, far from opposing the diffusion of the "party ideology," will promote it. The great obstacle is the Vatican which stands out like a huge monument to Freedom erected in the centre of a vast plain, visible at enormous distances from all sides. Hence the endeavour to shroud it in the fog of calumny, —it is the very hub of imperialistic espionage: it is in the pay of Governments, "enemies of peace": it is a foreign power bent on destroying the "Governments of the People." There is no need to labour this point. It is too well known. All the attacks in the presses of all the Communist countries from the end of the war till today are turned to this end. All the trials of bishops, priests and laymen have this, too, in view, besides the more immediate object of putting safely out of the way people who refuse to yield to persistent force and who inspire others not to waver. The poor prisoners, who a short time before showed an unyielding front to no matter what pressure, after a few months' imprisonment at their trials dribble out in a lifeless voice the by now recognised formulae of Vatican intrigue, of self-accusation and obsequious adulation of their tormentors. Nobody believes it, yet it makes an impression.

One after another, the Communist Governments have expelled their papal representatives: Hungary 1945; Poland 1945; Bulgaria, February 23, 1949; Czechoslovakia, March 16, 1950; Romania, July 4, 1950; Yugoslavia, December 17, 1952.

In the various Agreements proposed to or agreed to by the local Catholic hierarchies, relations between Church and State, and so to some extent relations with the Vatican (though without any authorization from the Vatican), are, in theory at least, stabilised. As an example we may take the Pact signed in Poland on April 14, 1950, partly because in time it was the first and perhaps served as a model for others. The Bishops undertake to recognize and support the régime and to exhort the faithful to be loyal to it and its enterprises; indeed, they also seem to give approval to the Communist principles that underlie it: "Art. 5. The principle is that the Pope is the supreme and final authority of the Church in questions of faith and morals, as too of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; on the other hand, in all other questions the episcopate will be guided by the norms of the Polish Government." Then follow other articles guaranteeing freedom of religion, freedom of the religious press, of religious education—all, however "in accordance with the relevant State laws"—no more sequestration of schools, etc.

With good will and a sincere desire for peaceful relations on both sides, such agreements, even if not ideal, could be made to work. That, undoubtedly, is one of the main reasons why some bishops have accepted them. To reject them on principle is to cast doubt on the sincerity of the Government and to bring on oneself the odium of refusing all reconciliation. In Poland the bishops, with whatever misgivings, agreed to the proposed Pact. But the Government was not slow to show the value it set on it. Within a month the Office of Religious Affairs ceased to depend directly on the Polish Government and was incorporated into the Department for Confessional Affairs set up within the Russian Embassy in Warsaw. Then followed the agitation against the bishops over the Stockholm Peace Appeal. A few months later (Sept. 12/13, 1950) the hierarchy at its plenary meeting addressed a letter to the head of the Government sadly lamenting the continued calumny and expoliation of the Church and pointing out that the State authorities, far from implementing their undertakings in the Agreement, had in point of fact instigated new acts and policies in direct contravention of them.

One of the Polish bishops' complaints concerned Government support of the "Patriot Priests." "Yet all the priests who form part, as heads, of the 'League of the Fighters for Liberty and Democracy' have in the past fallen below the level of their moral and canonical duties: many of them have been visited with ecclesiastical penalties. To designate them as reformers of the Church in Poland . . ." is to cast a slight on other priests. They publish a paper without any ecclesiastical sanction: attack the hierarchy and even the Pope; propagate false notions in religion and morality; aim at promoting schism among the clergy. "They are not the people to be put forward as models to the priests in the fulfillment of their duties towards the country . . ." But they *are* the people, and others like them, that are being nursed by the Government of Poland and the other Communist countries to be the directors and leaders of the clergy of the local Churches. Czechoslovakia has its "Democratic Priests" headed by a number of priests excommunicated by name. Hungary boasts of "Priests of Peace": Yugoslavia, an "Association of Sts. Cyril and Methodius" in Slovenia: and "Patriotic Priests" in Croatia and elsewhere. "We have broken with Moscow, why don't you rid yourselves of Rome?"—an exhortation of Marshal Tito to such priests in December 1949. Romania has dipped into history and resurrected the *Status Catholicus Transilvaniae*, an organization sanctioned in 1653 to allow exiled Latin bishops to rule their dioceses through clerical and lay representatives. Needless to say, the clerics and laymen of today who have usurped the name of the *Status* to give themselves a fictitious authority based on the past, have no intention of collaborating with the bishops (all of whom are in prison or declared "redundant") or of working under the aegis of the Pope. But they fully intend to rule and to be the Catholic Church in Romania.

With such "patriot" candidates for ecclesiastical office at hand,

one could expect the natural consequence, that in some way or other they would be given positions of influence within the Church. Vacancies are bound to occur in the course of time as death and disease take their normal toll of the clerical world. Under a Communist régime the course of nature can easily be hastened. Bogus trials and very real imprisonments leave many an office untenanted. Governments that know no Canon Law seize the opportunities to intrude their own creatures. It has been made all the easier for them because by law arbitrarily imposed (e.g. Czechoslovakia, October 18, 1949: Bulgaria, February, 1949: Hungary, 1950 and retroactive till 1946: Poland, February 10, 1953) the appointment to or removal from office, even of simple parish priests, needs the approval of the appropriate governmental ministry. Add that, either in the name of agrarian reform or in some other way, the Churches have been deprived of their financial resources, so that priests depend on meagre government salaries, increased, diminished, or stopped altogether according to the ideological trustworthiness of the individual, and one can see how great a hold the State authorities have on the ecclesiastical world. They are not slow to use it.

In February 1950 the Czechoslovak Government, ignoring the Vicar Capitular canonically elected after the death of Bishop Skrabik, appointed as administrator and later as Vicar Capitular (Jan., 7, 1951) Dechet, an excommunicated priest. In May of the same year (1950) it made another such priest, Buchta, Vicar General of the diocese of Ceske Budejovice. A few months later it "vacated" most of the other Vicar Generalates of the dioceses and put in its own nominees. In Romania after the arrest of Mons. Schubert, parish priest of the cathedral of Bucharest, and of Mons. Boros, rector of the seminary of Timisoara (Fer. 17, 1951), the excommunicated priest Horn-Despina was intruded into the cathedral. A little later the canonically-appointed Vicars General of the dioceses of Satu Mare, Alba Julia, and Timisoara were arrested, and even their legitimate successors were removed. Instead, to rule the dioceses of Bucharest and Alba Julia (one of the dioceses suppressed by a Government decree of 1948) the State authorities contrived the election (April 5, 1951) of Canon Trajan Jovanelli (there were only three other canons present at the "election") who had been released from prison for this purpose, no longer a man but an automaton ready to follow any suggestion. With Horn-Despina ever at his side, suggestions are not lacking to the grave detriment of the dioceses. In Hungary there has been a series of appointments of most unfit persons to be Vicars General and diocesan Chancellors, and on July 12, 1951 twelve "Priests of Peace" were appointed to the largest parishes. In Poland the Vicar Capitular of Katowice and two Vicars General of Cracow are Government men.

* * *

The Catholic hierarchies of all these countries have been placed in most tragic circumstances. Their duty was to preserve the Catholic

religion intact and, as heads of the Church, to direct by word and example the consciences of their flocks. As each stage of the plan of their atheist opponents was manifested, they had to assess its import and to decide whether or to what degree it was consistent with Catholic principles. They did not want to raise unnecessary obstacles to a *modus vivendi* with the régime—indeed in conscience they could not, for the repercussions on their innocent priests and faithful would have been too drastic—but neither could they in conscience yield where basic principle was involved. They were faced with this dilemma—stand firm and intransigent, and see all their Religious Orders and their activities liquidated one by one, their most loyal priests imprisoned, their schools confiscated, themselves isolated (no press to explain their action; pastoral letters censored and prohibited) and incarcerated, and the diocese left without direction: or come to an agreement with a Government pledged to promote atheism, whose word they could not trust, in the hope that, by expressing their patriotism and by showing their own willingness to support what was at least not immoral in the economic and social aims of their countries, they might save something worth-while from the wreck. The hierarchies of Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia chose the first alternative: those of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary have apparently accepted the latter. With what results?

In Romania the Catholic Church of Oriental Rite was suppressed in December 1948 and all its bishops put in prison (October 1948), where one at least has died (May 10, 1950). The last of the Latin bishops at large, Mgr. Pacha of Timisoara, was arrested on July 18, 1950, after the issue on July 4 of an heroically-strong letter denouncing the *Status Catholicus Transilvaniae*. Yet at this trial (Sept. 1951) he, like the other 8 prisoners arraigned with him, wallowed in self-accusations, which they repeated from Radio Bucharest. How does the police effect such a change in strong men? The arrests go on—some 50 in January 1951: in February Mons. Schubert, Boros, and a group of Conventuals: in March several officials of the diocese of Timisoara and at least 9 other priests of other dioceses: in April, 3 nuns. The Religious Orders have been rendered useless, for their personnel is confined in a few monasteries and most of the superiors are in prison. No schools, no press, vexation and persecution on all sides; hundreds of priests and laymen—how many, no one knows—in prisons, concentration camps, at forced labour; intense Communist and anti-God propaganda in the press, by radio, by speeches, in the schools, in the Youth, Labour, and Professional associations and peace movements. Yet the Church still lives, and the people in the main remains faithful.

In Bulgaria the story is the same, even though out of a total population of rather more than 7 millions there are only 57,000 Catholics (6,000 of Eastern rite), with 3 bishops, of whom only one now seems to be out of prison. In August 1948 the Catholic schools were closed. In 1949 laws were imposed regulating all ecclesiastical activity, and in the same year Catholic charitable works were stopped.

The usual detentions and trials accompanied these spoliations. Arrested on February 17, 1950, Fr. Damian Chiulov, O.F.M. Cap., "confessed" at his trial on January 13, 1952, and his successor Fr. Robert Prustov was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment in May. On July 16, Mgr. Eugenio Bossilkov, C.P., Bishop of Nicopolis, was arrested and with some 40 others, 24 of them priests (one, Fr. Fortunatus Bakalscki, O.F.M., Cap., had meanwhile died in prison—of pneumonia, it was said), was tried on September 25, 1952. On October 3 the bishop and 3 other priests were, after the usual nauseating "confessions," condemned to death: the rest to sentences of imprisonment ranging from 20 years to 5 years, with in one case only 1½ years. On October 5 the Catholics of the suburbs of Sophia flocked in greater numbers than ever into the city to find a church still open.

Yugoslavia, one must not forget, in spite of its political break with Russia and its being wooed by English and American diplomacy, has not changed one iota of its communistic and atheistic aims. To give the devil his due, one must admit that there is no pretence about it and, even if there were, the continued persecution of all religion in the country would prove the contrary. Archbishop Stepinac, though out of prison, is kept under house-arrest. At the end of the war some 378 priests were killed, and now there are about 200 in prison or at forced labour. On October 7 at Bizelisko a sixty-year old priest was beaten up, and on September 21, 1951 a seventy-six year old priest was killed by hooligans—the police arrived after the events, and the papers suggested that the victims deserved their fates as reactionaries. On January 20, 1952 a bishop, Mgr. Vovk, was set on fire on a public railway-station, and first aid was refused—his assailant received 10 days' imprisonment. Mgr. Peter Ciule, Bishop of Mostar, was condemned to 11½ years' imprisonment on July 18, 1949. In June 1951, while being taken from one prison to another, he was involved in a train accident and sustained a broken leg, but he could be extricated from the wreckage only with great difficulty and delay because he was chained to another prisoner buried under the debris. The general situation was summed up in September of last year (1952) by the Catholic episcopate in a letter addressed to Marshal Tito: "Atheism is taught in the schools, preached in conferences, propagated in the press, enforced on employees and on the Army. Teachers in the schools are formally forbidden to frequent the churches. Teachers who do not obey are dismissed. In a State employee, religious belief is a fatal bar. Officers of the Army dare not even have their children baptized. School children are summoned if they attend a church on Sunday, and, although physical punishment is officially prohibited in schools, children in villages have been severely beaten by their teachers for having dared to hear Mass or take part in the religious instruction of the Church."

* * *

Is the state of affairs in the countries where the hierarchy has

compromised with the national Government on a *modus vivendi* any better? In Poland, as has been mentioned above, the signing of the mutually agreed Pact has in no way caused a cessation of the campaign against the Church. It is in fact just now beginning to enter on a new stage, the stage of arrests and well-advertised, carefully rehearsed trials. In September 1952 roughly 300 priests were in prison. The Communist "Society of the Friends of Childhood" has 37 nominally private schools where Marxism is taught to the young, but, of course, no religious instruction is given: yet in the autumn of 1952 Mgr. Adamski, Bishop of Katowice, was bitterly attacked in the papers for collecting signatures to a petition demanding the continuance of religious teaching in schools. He, his Coadjutor Bishop, Mgr. Herbert Bednorz, and the Auxiliary Bishop, Mgr. Julius Bieniek, have been arrested; and Fr. Philip Bednorz, one of the five vice-presidents of the Praesidium of the Principal Committee of Priests set up by the Association of Former Fighters for Freedom and Democracy—an association, that is, of "Patriot Priests" who publicly support the Communist régime—was elected Vicar Capitular of the diocese (November 25) and canonically approved as such on December 16 by the Cardinal Primate. On December 28, 1952, it was announced that Archbishop Baziak, Vicar Capitular of Cracow, could no longer fulfil his duties and had been replaced. Archbishop Baziek was by then in prison, and with him was probably Bishop Respond, Auxiliary Bishop of Cracow. On January 21, 1953 began the trial of 4 priests and 2 laymen on political charges which ended with the death sentence for 1 priest and 2 laymen, and long terms of imprisonment for the rest. As witnesses were the two bishops of Cracow mentioned above, who "confessed" all and who, it is to be presumed, will themselves shortly be tried. The trial was really an indictment of the Curia of Cracow and indeed, of the Church, for the speeches of the prosecution and the intense newspaper propaganda abounded in the usual accusations of the political activity of the Vatican and the whole Catholic hierarchy. That is intelligible, for it is the burden of all propaganda in the Red world. What is less intelligible is the acceptance by the Church authorities of a "Patriotic Priest" as Vicar Capitular of the diocese of Katowice, unless it was hoped by this show of good will to avoid further State encroachments on episcopal authority. If that was the case, it failed; for on February 10th of this year (1953) the Government enacted that its approval is required for all appointments, changes, and dismissals of ecclesiastical personnel. The object in view is clearly enunciated by the Polish paper *Trybuna Ludu*: "The decree provides that only patriots will be appointed; that only persons who will support the Polish State's interests will hold ecclesiastical appointments." In March two Vicars General appointed to the Diocese of Cracow were "Patriot Priests."

In Hungary the agreement with the Government was signed on August 30, 1950, following a declaration by Archbishop Joseph Groesz, Dean of the episcopate, made to the Minister of Education and Re-

ligion, that "the meeting of bishops again solemnly declares that by the present agreement it wishes in no way to injure the rights of the Holy See in respect of the regulation of relations between Church and State." On May 15, 1951, a State ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs was set up. On May 18 Archbishop Joseph Groesz was arrested and a month later at his trial abjectly "confessed" his guilt. Implicated in the trial were also the Bishops of Csanad, of Vacia, of Alba Reale, and the Auxiliary Bishop of the last mentioned diocese, who thereupon were kept under house arrest; while according to Government propaganda another bishop, Mgr. Hamvas, is supposed to have admitted culpability, and still another, Mgr. Groesz's auxiliary, to be indignant at such clerical crime. Now there began a whole series of nominations of the most unsuitable people to be Vicars General and members of diocesan Curias. On July 3rd a meeting of the bishops still at liberty issued a declaration of warm approval of the régime; and, for its part, the régime produced two decrees requiring Government approval for the transfer of priests and for the nomination of bishops, abbots, and provincials of Religious Orders, retroactive as from 1946—whereby no less than seven bishops, consecrated since 1946, found themselves put at the mercy of the State. On July 9th all minor seminaries were closed. On July 12th the bishops (those in prison were brought out for the purpose), one abbot and three provincials took an oath of loyalty to the Constitution and the Popular Republic, though two years before the hierarchy had strenuously refused to do this. On July 22 there was published an article of the Bishop of Vesprimia extolling the religious liberty accorded by the régime and recording the list of its successes in other fields of action. A little later there appeared a similar article by Bishop Hamvas, who had at one time been the most outstanding champion of the Church in Hungary. How do the Communists manage to change men of strong character and high principle into subservient flatterers of what they most abhor?

In Czechoslovakia the hierarchy authorised the clergy to accept Government salaries and to take the oath of allegiance "in so far as this is not against divine or ecclesiastical law or natural human rights" (October 21, 1949). In return the Government freed 127 priests from prison, but some 200 more were not released; and by January 1950 there were more than 230 priests in confinement. In 1950 all religious houses were confiscated and, beginning with the appointment of Dechet as Vicar Capitular of the diocese of Banska Bystrica (February 13), renegade priests were put into positions of influence and associations of such promoted by the Government. On March 31 10 eminent Religious were condemned to long sentences. On April 28, 1950, with the connivance of five apostate priests, the Catholic Church of Oriental Rite in Czechoslovakia was legally united to the Church of Moscow, and two of its bishops imprisoned. On November 27 Bishop Zela and 8 others (men of high position and close to Archbishop Beran before his imprisonment) were sentenced to terms rang-

ing from life to 10 years'. On January 10, 1951 came the turn of 3 more bishops, and with them, and in later trials, many more clerics were condemned. In March, 5 bishops with an administrator and 3 Vicars Capitular took the oath of allegiance to the Government and made a declaration to the effect that they fully recognised the validity of the laws, especially those establishing the State Department for Church Affairs and providing financial support for the Church, and all decrees enacted on the basis of those laws: further, that they did not recognise, and therefore would not implement, ecclesiastical penalties imposed on clerics and laymen for political reasons. (In this connection it is to be noted that in 1949 all thorough-going Communists had been excommunicated by Rome). On March 31, 1952 the Bishop of Budejovice was banished from his diocese and a Government nominee installed as Vicar Capitular. Two days earlier Prague Radio announced that the Archbishop of Olomouc had appeared in public—for only the second time in two years—to install 6 new Government-appointed canons in his cathedral chapter, in the presence of representatives of the Government and a high official of the Ministry for Church Affairs.

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From this brief narration of facts, one conclusion is immediately apparent, that the signing of an Agreement with the Government does not save the Church from the further prosecution of the plan for its liquidation. If anything, it only serves to accelerate the speed of its execution. The arrests, trials and judicial murders go on, even though the victims have already compromised on their position, and excommunicated priests, whose canonical "election" is condemned by the Vatican, are confirmed in office by bishops, to the great confusion of mind of the lower clergy. We can justly lament the situations thus created, but we do not know enough of the circumstances within the countries behind the Iron Curtain—the persuasions, tricks, promises, pressure, violence, tortures, drugs, employed by conscienceless oppressors—to be able to assess justly the moral responsibility of the harassed hierarchies. We can humbly wonder what we should do, were we in their place, and pray that Almighty God will not subject us to so formidable a trial, but that He will in His mercy grant strength to His suffering brethren and peace to His Body, the Church.

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One of the many results of the Reformation was the loss of that sense of unity that the Catholic religion had given to Europe and the acceleration of national divisions whereby one people came to look on others purely as foreigners with whom they had no lot or part. And we Catholics, being children of our age, have inherited that nationalistic isolation which tends to envelop our religious as well as our civic consciousness. So it is easy for us to regard the events overtaking the Church behind the Iron Curtain as matters in which we have no direct concern, incidents in history, manifestations of foreign

temperaments that could not possibly occur with us. Whether they could or whether they could not, we do not know: we can only guess. But whatever the prospects that lie before us in a possible future, in the present we do wrong if we consider the persecutions of today as something foreign to us. For there is a common bond of unity between us and those suffering Christians of Northern and Eastern Europe which cannot let us be indifferent to their fate. Both they and we are members of one Church. Both they and we are "temples of the Holy Ghost," linked by the spiritual, divine life that possesses our souls and that unites us with Christ, our Head, in His Mystical Body. It may not be a union that we are conscious of, but it is nevertheless a real union. It is one that we ought to esteem more highly than we do, that we ought to foster, so that we may realise it in ourselves more and more. What it means is that all those Ukrainians, Romanians, those Hungarians, and Czechs, and all the other persecuted Catholics are our brethren in Jesus Christ.

To the sufferings of brethren we cannot remain different. We must be interested in what affects them, avid to get news of them, quick to sympathize with them in their difficulties and sufferings, glad when there is any alleviation of their lot. But that, it may be said, will not do them much good. Yet it will. It will make us eager to help, instead of remaining apathetic. It will urge us to take our part in any political pressure that may be possible—through appeals to Parliament, presence at public meetings of protest—to show the Communist governments that at least world-opinion is against them, and who knows how soon they may not have once more to pay some respect to what others think? Yugoslavia even now needs Western aid. Why should not Christian countries demand civilized treatment of religious minorities as a condition *sine qua non* before granting it? They would, if their peoples were fully alive to what is happening and made it quite plain, as they could do, to their governments that their money was not to go to support tyranny. It will make us more charitable and friendly to any refugees that may come our way, people driven out of home and country, without resources, with no other hope except the generosity of their brethren in Christ, because of their fidelity to a religious or a political ideal. Above all, it will make us pray. That at least is open to all of us, even if other means of helping are not: and that is the most potent means of all. Catholics behind the Iron Curtain are now faced with threats of physical maltreatment, poverty, death, if they will not forsake their faith and our faith. They are even now actually in prisons and concentration camps, because so far they have stood firm. What is being asked of them is nothing short of heroism for a Christian ideal, and they need the grace of God in as abundant a measure as possible to help them not to quail in their time of trial. We can help them. We, from our unharassed countries, can do much to gain strength and courage for them, if we will remember them in our Masses, and in our prayers implore the mercy of God that He will shorten the time of their tribulation.

But do not let us make any mistake and think that we alone are the donors. We gain more than we give. That same truth that we and they are one Body in Christ means that we share in the merits and glory that redound to the whole Body from the sufferings of its martyrs. How potent and magnificent they are we shall never be able to estimate in this world. We have our part with them because we are their brethren, and how greatly does not their gift, paid for in blood and tears, surpass the small offering of our prayers!

"But now there are many members indeed, yet one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand: I need not thy help: nor again the head to the feet: I have no need of you... And if one member suffer anything, all the members suffer with it: or if one member glory, all the members rejoice with it. Now you are the body of Christ and members of member." (I Cor. xii 20-1, 26-7).

JOSEPH GILL, S.J.

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LEO XIII ON EFFORTS FOR CHRISTIAN UNITY

...We feel drawn to follow the example of Our Divine Redeemer and Master, Jesus Christ, who, when about to return to heaven, implored of God, His Father, is earnest prayer, that His disciples and followers should be of one mind and of one heart... And as this divine prayer and supplication does not include only the souls who then believed in Jesus Christ, but also every one of those who were henceforth to believe in Him, this prayer holds out to us no indifferent reason for confidently expressing our hopes, and for making all possible endeavors in order that men of every race and clime should be called and moved to embrace the unity of divine faith.

LEO XIII: *Praeclara gratulationis*

COMMENTS AND DOCUMENTS

CITATIONS FROM THE NEW ENCYCLICAL ON THE MARIAN YEAR

On the eighth of September, the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Holy Father issued a special encyclical letter entitled Fulgens Corona Gloriae, *calling on all Christians throughout the world to join in observing a Marian Year. The observance is to begin in December and will commemorate the first centenary of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.*

In his letter the Pope traces the background of the doctrine of the sinless conception of the Mother of God and fully justifies the exalted position she occupies in Catholic life and teaching. We are quoting below several excerpts from this encyclical which relate to those Christians not in union with Rome.

"Non-Catholics and reformers are therefore mistaken when... they find fault with, or disapprove of, our devotion to the Virgin Mother of God, as if it took something from the worship due to God alone and to Jesus Christ. The contrary is true because any honor and veneration which we may give to our heavenly Mother undoubtedly redounds to the glory of her Divine Son, not only because all graces and all gifts, even the highest, flow from Him as from their primary source, but also because "The glory of children are their fathers" (Proverbs, xvii, 6).

"Wherefore, right from ancient Church times, this tenet of doctrine both among pastors and in the minds and hearts of the people became daily more illustrious and more widespread. The writings of the Fathers bear witness to it; the Councils and the acts of the Roman Pontiffs declare it; and, finally, the ancient liturgies, in whose sacred books this feast is mentioned as traditional, testify to it.

"And even among all the communities of Oriental Christians, which long since have broken away from the unity of the Catholic Church, there were not wanting, nor are there wanting, those who, although animated by prejudices and wrong opinions, have embraced this doctrine and celebrate annually the solemnity of the Immaculate Conception; which would undoubtedly not be so, had they not received this doctrine from ancient times, before they were cut off from the one fold."

"Therefore, in this encyclical letter We earnestly repeat those exhortations made by Us more than once before as the occasion arose: and We firmly trust that during the celebration of this Marian Year

fervent prayers be offered throughout the world to the most powerful Mother of God who is also our tender mother; and that in those prayers special requests be made of her efficacious and ever-present patronage, that the sacred rights which are proper to the Church, and which the very exercise of human and civil liberty demands, may be openly and sincerely recognized by all, and this without doubt will conduce to the greatest common good and an increase of common concord."

"Furthermore, We call on those also who are separated from Us by ancient schism and whom none the less We love with paternal affection, to unite in pouring forth these joint prayers and supplications, knowing full well how greatly they venerate the Mother of Jesus Christ and celebrate her Immaculate Conception. May the same Blessed Virgin Mary look down on all those who are proud to call themselves Christians, and who, being united at least by the bond of charity, humbly raise to her their eyes, their minds, and their prayers, imploring that light which illumines the mind with heavenly rays, and begging for that unity by which at last there may be one fold and one shepherd (John X, 16).

"To these unanimous prayers, pious works of penance should be added. For the effect of devotion to prayer is this: 'The soul is sustained, is prepared for arduous deeds and ascends to things divine. The effect of penance is that we control ourselves, especially our body, the greatest enemy because of original sin, by reason and by the law of the Gospel. It is clear that these two virtues are intimately connected, help one another, and combine to withdraw man, who was born for Heaven, from transitory things, and all but carries him to heavenly intimacy with God.'

"Since, however, solid, sincere and tranquil peace has not yet appeared in souls and among peoples, let all strive with pious prayer to fully and fruitfully obtain and consolidate it, so that, just as the most Blessed Virgin brought forth the Prince of Peace, so also may she, by her protection and patronage, unite men in friendly agreement. For then only can they enjoy whatever peaceful prosperity may be given to us during the course of this mortal life—when they are not divided by rivalries, not wretchedly torn by dissensions, not forced into opposite camps by threats and intrigues; but when, joining hands in friendly affection, they exchange the kiss of peace, that peace which is 'tranquil liberty,' and which, guided by justice and nurtured by charity, unites in one harmonious family the various classes of citizens, nations, and people.

"May the Divine Redeemer, moved by the favor and intercession of His most benign Mother, grant the widest and most fruitful effects to these Our most ardent desires, to which will correspond, We are sure, the wishes, not only of Our own children, but also of all those who have at heart the interests of Christian culture and the progress of civil life."

AN ECUMENICAL PILGRIMAGE TO ROME

The first of the articles in this issue tells our readers of a new type of pilgrimage to Rome which took place this past summer. The Editor mentions in his account the presence of three Catholic priests who accompanied the pilgrims. One of these priests was the well-known author, Dom Columba Cary-Elwes, O.S.B., of Ampleforth Abbey, York. Upon his return to England, Dom Columba gave an interesting report of the pilgrimage to his fellow countrymen in the form of a radio broadcast from the Leeds studio. The text of this radio talk is reproduced below:

I never thought it would come off. But there we were in Rome, thirty-nine of us; we were many nationalities: Russians, Swedes, Greeks, French, Yugoslav, English, American, Italian, Canadian, South African. The Church of England was the largest group, nineteen I think, mostly young men, including three Anglican Franciscans; the Orthodox—I use the titles each Communion uses of itself—numbered twelve, several professors, several priests, some ladies and two nuns. We had one brave Lutheran lady from Sweden, an Episcopalian from the States. Then there was a French secular priest, an Italian Carmelite priest, myself and an Oxford student who served my Mass daily. Over the world were others praying for its spiritual success.

I can obviously speak only for myself; but I must tell you what we were doing and give my personal impressions.

We had gone to Rome to pray for unity among Christians and also as one pilgrim put it: to get to know the Roman church and to love it, in so far as it was lovable.

My first and enduring impression of all these pilgrims was humble amazement and gratitude at their magnanimous gesture of friendliness; they had come not to be converted but to pray, to understand, and to love.

Most of us lived together in the Palazzo Salviati not far from St. Peter's. We were all friends by the very first evening. I was immensely impressed by the earnestness of the young Englishmen, who went miles every morning to attend their Communion celebration at the English church. The Orthodox had their liturgy once in the American church. I was touched particularly by their deep devotion for relics. A devotion somewhat alien to the English Protestant mind.

The very first morning I arrived we went off to the catacomb of Domitilla. There in a little dark alcove, over the tomb of an early martyr I said my first Mass in Rome. In that tiny space the pilgrims elbowed round me. We seemed back in the first centuries. Lord have mercy, I said, in Greek; Christ have mercy, they answered. A chosen prayer for unity.

I felt: this was what we had come to Rome to do: to pray at the shrines of the great lovers of Christ, through the ages. It was deeply

satisfying. *But*, make no mistake, we did not think we *were* one because we had prayed together. It made me painfully, acutely conscious, piercingly conscious that we were not, and of our great need to be. This was poignantly clear when I could only give Holy Communion to two—Communion, the sign and maker of unity.

But it was a pain now, not of anger, or jealousy, as perhaps of old, but entirely of sorrow and contrition.

Then off we trudged to San Clemente, most beautiful of the ancient basilicas. There the Orthodox came across a monument to SS. Cyril and Methodius, the apostles of the Slavs. Spontaneously they burst into a hymn in their language. Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius, pray for us and join us together again as once we were joined, I prayed.

Following the course of the centuries, on the Tuesday we made for Subiaco. St. Benedict withdrew to Subiaco, fourteen hundred years ago, living in a cave up the mountain side—to give himself to God. A monastery now clings to that mountain face; the cave has been turned into a chapel—not much bigger than an ordinary bath room. In the hollow darkness of the cave, I once again said Mass with the pilgrims all round me. Once again the centuries slipped away. Introibo, "I enter unto the altar of God" said I, and all seemed to be answering in the semi-darkness. Europe was there represented, her people come back to the home of their father in God, the Patriarch of the West. Here it was, he had given up all for the All, and the world had been given back to him in his spiritual descendants, to educate, convert, to lead all back to God.

Again only two could communicate, and the longing for unity increased.

On Wednesday the Orthodox had arranged to celebrate their liturgy in the Colosseum. It was another unique occasion. There, under the open sky facing inward to the arena, the Eastern Mass was sung by a Yugoslav Orthodox priest for the first time. Though there is in Rome a special prohibition to enter a non-Catholic church there, it was not forbidden to watch this reverently from the side. The fact that the celebrant had been in prison for two years under the Tito regime, made him even more representative of the persecuted Eastern Christians. The Colosseum too was the place where the Roman martyrs had borne witness to their faith in Christ.

As a form of the Mass it was extremely interesting. Usually theirs is hidden, mostly even from the faithful. Here the people took a great part in the singing and could see. They sang the Our Father for instance. At one point the nun, who was a deaconess according to their rite, came forward and sang the epistle. Before the Communion the people moved up in turn to confess their sins and be absolved.

This liturgy was followed by another at one of the old basilicas, Santa Sabina, now looked after by the Dominicans, a simple, grand, ancient and cool church. How different I thought the almost cold-

ness of this rite compared to the rich exuberance of the one in the Colosseum. There is room for both, I thought, just as there is room for the baroque St. Peter's and the lovely restraint of such churches as this very Santa Sabina.

In the short time left it is impossible to recount all the rest we did in pilgrimage.

We agreed to follow a chronological order, starting as we did with the catacombs and going up to at least the Jesuits. We intended to end with St. Peter's simply because it is bound to be the culmination of any visit to Rome.

One most interesting visit was the one we did to San Giorgio's. We got there in mid afternoon when all good Romans are asleep or drowsy and most churches locked up. We had to get in through the house of the Crutchot Friars next door. There in the cool seclusion the English pilgrims were moved to sing softly "God save the Queen," it was unobtrusive, no one minded, and then someone began a hymn of Cardinal Newman, "Praise to the Holiest in the Height"—little realising at the time, perhaps, that this had been Cardinal Newman's own church. Someone mentioned the fact and we went in search of the portrait which must once have hung in the church. Sure enough we found it, and it was good, stronger in face and more cheerful than some. We carried it out triumphantly into the light to photograph it. I felt John Henry Newman was taking care of us.

One evening the pilgrims were given a long and fascinating lecture on the recent findings under St. Peter's, as a preparation for our visit there next day. We were very privileged as the lecturer was one of the great experts on the subject, and the guides were the very archaeologists who had made all those astonishing discoveries, and there are more to come.

That following morning was one of the most thrilling I have ever experienced. We were shown first the ancient Roman pagan cemetery with its family vaults the size of a small modern house. Now they're all under the floor of St. Peter's, but once all above ground. Our guides were very insistent that they are now sure they have found the place of St. Peter's grave: the bones of St. Peter, not so sure, though the professor showing my little party round, and who actually discovered the bones is leaning towards their genuineness—you know how cautious professors are. But the enquiry goes on, and evidence is piling up.

That same morning early the pilgrims had been down to the grottos, assisted at Mass under the present floor of St. Peter's, and not far from this now disclosed space, where St. Peter's little monument was.

And then as we were leaving the Confession of St. Peter, standing down in the hollowed-out space before the high altar, one of the Orthodox, who had to leave Rome that day, took me by surprise by

giving me the kiss of peace. A symbolic act and, in such a place, not easily to be forgotten; indeed I shall treasure it.

The day before we left, the Holy Father had invited us all to a private audience. This is most unusual now since his illness; we waited in a semi-circle almost silent at one remove it seemed from the Pope's private room. Then swiftly Pius XII moved in. He asked me whether the pilgrims wanted to be blessed; when I said, "Yes, Your Holiness," he blessed us all and then drew a sheet of paper from his breast pocket; he read a little address specially written for the occasion. The chief point was that he specially welcomed us because we had come to pray. His English was excellent; then each member of the pilgrimage was introduced to him and he gave each a medal. His evident pleasure at seeing us and his sympathy were infectious; at the end we asked whether he would allow us to be photographed with him, and he readily assented. It has come out moderately, but I for one will treasure it as one of the chief memorials to a memorable journey.

A thing I particularly noticed was that the Pope had dispensed entirely with a retinue. Once he was in the room with us, everyone else left and we had him all to ourselves.

What conclusions do I personally draw from this expedition, this first experiment? I am sure that nothing quite like it has taken place before, at any rate in its variety of membership, in its size.

I believe in the power of prayer, we all did, and a pilgrimage is a public expression of that belief in the prayer of intercession. What we wanted was the gift of Unity, the help of God for that great aim. Unity will only be won, I am convinced, at the expense of prayer and penance, so I believe: a pilgrimage is one of the most ancient forms of this belief.

This particular one also struck me as a wonderful expression of friendliness on the part of the Orthodox, Anglican, and Lutheran, as they went the rounds of the sacred shrines of Rome. Not everything could have been to their taste—I think particularly of the sort of spiritual bank holiday going on in connection with Saint Clare's 7th centenary in an old church on the Capitol, the Ara Coeli, so un-English in its expression; but how hard the English seemed to want to understand. A couple of Americans beside me, not of the pilgrimage, made themselves quite at home—but I discovered that one of them had two sisters who were nuns, so they were already acclimatised.

My own fervent prayer, after it was all over, as I knelt at the Confession of St. Peter on his own feast day, was that the example of this should not be wasted. This was the first; it should not be the last. Nothing but good had come of it. I knew that the theological differences were still there. I knew they had to be resolved before Unity could be achieved; but I also knew that there in the catacombs, in the cave of Subiaco, in the Grottos of St. Peter's, a dif-

ferent spirit was abroad. A loving understanding had entered in, and dare I say it, perhaps, something of the Benedictine Pax, peace.

CHURCH RELATIONS DEBATED IN THE CONVOCATION OF YORK

In the meeting reported in the *Church Times* of 15 May, the Convocation of the Province of York of the Church of England discussed the Report, "Church Relations in England." That Report was the fruit of a series of meetings between Anglican and Free Church theologians to weigh the practicability and the implications of a suggestion put forward by the Archbishop of Canterbury in a sermon he preached at Cambridge some seven years ago. There he had proposed that, given the existing religious conditions of England, the best way of promoting unity among the English Churches would be, not by means of a pre-arranged constitution of a united Church, but of some practical measures leading to intercommunion. The great stumbling block in all ecclesiastical negotiations is episcopacy. Therefore, he intimated, if the Free Churches would "take episcopacy into their systems" and try it out among themselves, the greatest obstacle to unity would have been overcome, and intercommunion, and ultimately, it could be hoped, unity achieved.

The resolutions proposing the acceptance and consideration of the Report by Convocation were introduced by the Bishop of Durham in a very guarded speech. He, naturally, was viewing the question from the Anglican standpoint. He saw two main difficulties, both of which should be fully assessed before any compromising step was taken. Should one of the Free Churches accept episcopacy, the Report envisages an immediate intercommunion between that body and the Church of England—i.e. members of either Church could receive Communion freely in the churches of the other. The Anglican rule for Anglicans that Confirmation must precede admittance to communicant status would not apply to the non-Anglican Church; and, so the Bishop thought, the consequence could be that it would soon lose its force also for Anglicans. The Bishop's solution was that, as intercommunion must await the adoption of episcopacy by others, it could equally well and equally wisely be made to depend on the acceptance of Confirmation too.

The other main difficulty that the speaker discussed centred round the nature of episcopacy itself. A Free Church adopting episcopacy would still remain on terms of intercommunion with the non-episcopal Free Churches. What are the implications of that for its doctrinal views about episcopacy? It is true that the Report agreed that the acceptance of episcopacy would not impose the acceptance of any particular doctrinal interpretation of it. It is also true that different views about it prevail within the Anglican body. The Bishop's contention was that such a situation would do more than allow freedom

of doctrinal interpretation: it would exclude the higher, sacramental interpretation altogether. In view of these two great difficulties the Bishop did not believe that the proposals of the Report either could or should be acceptable to a united Church of England.

The second of the Bishop's difficulties is the more fundamental. If this were met in the way he would like to see it met, the question of Confirmation would solve itself. And on this difficulty the Church of England has been and is divided within itself. Cranmer considered that bishops or no bishops depended on the will of the sovereign. Prof. L. Hodgson has called the existence of episcopacy in the Church of England "an accident of history." The present Archbishop of Canterbury in putting forward his original suggestion clearly demanded no precise views on the nature of episcopacy. A large section of the Anglican committees that have dealt with the Church of South India was ready to recognise Orders conveyed with consequences similar to those envisaged in the Report. For such Anglicans episcopacy would seem to be an office of uncertain origin, with roots that go back to at any rate the sub-apostolic age, that under the guidance of the Holy Spirit has proved its value by its continuance and ubiquity in the Church: it is at the very least as good as any other form of ecclesiastical organisation, and it is a fixed element in the organisation of the Church of England.

There are other Anglicans, and among them the Bishop of Durham, for whom episcopacy is something more. It is a sacrament, instituted by Christ Our Lord, an essential constituent of the Church of God, and (among other things) the sole source of Orders. The "taking of episcopacy into their systems" by the Free Churches is hardly likely to be accompanied by their also adopting doctrine about its essential and sacramental nature, and so the Bishop of Durham, who holds such a doctrine, quite rightly dissents from the proposals of the Report. He does not, he said in his speech to Convocation, want "to press a Catholic doctrine of episcopacy on other people" (though why not?). What he wants to avoid is having the other view of it entrenched in Anglican opinion by official recognition of episcopacy accepted on such terms.

JOSEPH GILL, S.J.

DR. ASMUSSEN'S PUBLIC LETTER

Dr. Hans Asmussen, Probst of the Lutheran Church in Kiel and a prominent theologian in Evangelical circles, is well known for the keen interest with which he has followed the trends of ecumenicity. As his latest contribution to this field, he has addressed a number of searching questions to his co-religionists regarding their attitude towards the Church of Rome. The questions he asks his fellow Protestants are contained in the July 31st issue of the Lutheran periodical, Christ und Welt. *Dr. Asmussen writes as follows:*

"The ecumenical task is one that imposes itself upon us inescapably.

The progress which has been realized in this field is evident to all. Nevertheless, there has been one impending danger, that of seeing the one Church of Jesus Christ supplanted by two blocs, one a stranger to the other. Will the Catholic Church be isolating herself? Will she be excluded by the non-Catholic Churches? A situation of this kind would be too much to endure. On this point, we Evangelical Christians find ourselves confronted by a whole series of questions of conscience. I would ask you, therefore, to ponder the following interrogations:

"1. Are we ready to accept unreservedly the entire Biblical canon? Or rather, do we declare ourselves free from any relation with the Scriptures which are considered 'Catholic' (the Gospel of St. Luke, The Acts, the First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, the Epistles to Timothy and to Titus, the second of St. Peter, and that of James)?

"2. How can we explain the fact that the Catholic Church in Germany today exerts a more profound spiritual influence than that of the Evangelical Churches? (In the field of literature, increasing vocations to the priesthood, well-attended services, a more generous giving of time and self, etc.)

"3. Why is it that in Protestant areas, it is generally considered 'Evangelical' to show but little faith, not to be repentant for sin or make reparation for it, rarely to pray or to attend church? And yet how can we, in the same breath, presume to judge Catholicism at its best to be that practised by its less exemplary adherents?

"4. Why is it that we are afraid to try to understand Catholicism such as it actually is today? Why, instead, do we continually regard it in the light of four hundred years ago?

"5. How can we explain that among us the rejection of the basic teachings of Christianity (the Holy Trinity, divine Filiation, the redemptive death on the Cross, the Resurrection, and the Last Judgment) is looked upon as a 'pardonable failing' in matters of faith while at the same time we are ready to dispose of Catholicism by means of a formula dating from the sixteenth century?

"6. Why is it that the Evangelical Churches have never—at least up to now—officially manifested their opposition when, in the name of the Evangelical Church, modern liberals attack the Catholic Church when they really mean Christianity itself?

"7. Can we explain why we Protestant Christians carry on as though we were in agreement on the doctrine of justification by faith, when a student in first year college can know that this is not so?

"8. How explain the fact that political interests, which originally influenced the division of the Church, are still in evidence today and are more potent factors in effecting separation than are doctrinal issues?"

"I personally feel that a situation like this should not be allowed to go on. The prayer of Jesus will be heard. But there are certain

forces at work which, during these eight years of peace have brought about more of a division between the Churches than the *rapprochement* that God had effected in the twelve years of persecution and chastisement."

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

UNITY OF CHRISTIANS - THE WILL OF CHRIST

Let us try to understand the evils of division. Disunion among Christians is contrary to the express will of Jesus Christ. Every Christian should deplore it. Protestants, Anglicans, and Orthodox have rightly acknowledged the disorder that has come from their loss of unity, and they correctly attribute this evil to the sins of men.

Indeed, in His prayer to His Father after the Last Supper, Our Saviour earnestly pleaded for the unity of His Church. Speaking in the name of His Apostles, He said: "Holy Father, keep in Thy name those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one even as We are." Then, in the name of all: "Yet not for these only do I pray, but for those also who through their word are to believe in Me, that they all may be one, even as Thou, Father, in Me and I in Thee; that they also may be one in Us, that the World may believe that Thou hast sent Me. And the glory that Thou hast given Me, I have given to them, that they may be one, even as We are one: I in them and Thou in Me; that they may be perfected in unity, and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and that Thou hast loved them even as Thou hast loved Me."

No Christian, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, can deny that in this sublime prayer Christ expressed the will that His followers should be one. Whoever wants to belong to Christ must love, seek after, and preserve unity. We Catholics believe that such a prayer could not fail to be answered. We feel we owe to it the fact that, whereas we are so diverse in every other respect, still as Catholics we are all united in the same faith, under the same head, and in the same cult. To this prayer also, we owe our compelling desire to communicate our unity to all who profess to follow Christ.

CHARLES BOYER, S.J., *One Shepherd*. P. 15.

NEWS

ECUMENISM AND REUNION

Preparations for the Evanston Assembly

The World Council of Churches has been at work many months now in preparing for its second international assembly at Evanston, Illinois, which will take place next summer. At the present time one hundred and sixty Churches are members of the W.C.C.; and according to plans made, six hundred delegates from among them will be in attendance at the forthcoming assembly.

While many other important matters will be discussed by the delegates, the "main theme" of the conference at Evanston is to be: "Jesus Christ, the Hope of the world." The task of organizing this theme into subsidiary topics has been entrusted to a special Advisory Commission which has already decided upon the divisions of the central theme of the conference. It has therefore assigned theologians and scholars from many countries to draw up comprehensive surveys of each sub-topic, not to exceed 15,000 words. These summaries will then form the basis for further discussion among the delegates at Evanston. These subsidiary topics, as released by the *Ecumenical Press Service*, are as follows:

1. Faith and Order—Our Oneness in Christ and our Disunity as Churches.

2. Evangelism—The Mission of the Church to Those outside her Life.

3. Social Questions—The Responsible Society in a World Perspective.

4. International Affairs—Christians in the Struggle for World Community.

5. Inter-group Relations—The Church amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions.

6. The Laity—The Christian in his Vocation.

Preparations for the coming assembly formed one of the key points discussed recently at the semi-annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches held at the Ecumenical Institute of Bossey. The discussion was conducted under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. G. K. Bell.

At Geneva, likewise, in August over one hundred and fifty leaders representing the various member Churches of the W.C.C. met for special sessions given over to a sifting of background material for the Evanston meeting. These sessions were sponsored by the Study Department of the W.C.C. which is headed by Dr. H. P. van Dusen. At this time each of the six preparatory commissions submitted reports

on the matter already collected dealing with the six topics subordinate to the primary theme of the prospective assembly. The all-important subject of the disunity of the Churches is being handled by the first commission under the presidency of Dr. Oliver S. Tomkins.

Asian Interest in the Ecumenical Movement

Interest in ecumenical matters appears to be very real among the various Asian Churches according to Dr. Rajah B. Manikam, a delegate of the World Council of Churches from East Asia. At the meeting of the Executive Committee at Bossey, Dr. Manikam affirmed that the Churches in Asia were thinking very seriously about things ecumenical. In his address to the other Committee members he declared: "Being Secretary of the WCC-IMC since two years and a half, I visited all Asian countries except China and the Philippines, and I can say that everywhere there is a great interest for this world movement, which is not a Western movement but truly a world movement. Our Churches in East Asia take a particular interest in the Second Assembly of the WCC, and we want to give our best contribution to it."

(E P S)

The Mar Thoma Church and the Church of South India

In recent months possibilities of uniting with the Church of South India have been considered at some length by the authorities of the Mar Thoma Church. The latter, with a membership of over a quarter million, is regarded as an Eastern Orthodox church although it has adopted a number of features proper to the Churches of the Reformation.

A committee, which had been appointed to explore the question by the Metropolitan, Juhanon Mar Thoma, released a report of its findings in July and recommended the practice of intercommunion between the two Churches as a step towards ultimate union. To further this aim the committee also urged the naming of a Theological Committee for further discussions with the Church of South India. The latter body has been in existence since 1947 when it was formed by an amalgamation of Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches in South India. (E P S)

Reunion Articles in the Church Times

During the month of July, the Anglican *Church Times* carried a series of three articles dealing with Church relations in England. They were written by the Reverend Raymond Raynes, Superior of the Community of the Resurrection. The purpose of the articles was to clarify the position of the Church of England particularly with reference to the episcopacy, the priesthood, and the Holy Eucharist. It was felt by the editors of the newspaper that these three "instruments of ultimate unity" were not being given their genuine signifi-

cance in the current schemes for reunion and that this series by Fr. Raynes would serve to call attention to their supreme importance as a basis for unitive efforts.

Fr. Raynes sounds the keynote of his articles by stating: "It is undeniable that there is a movement towards unity in which many significant advances have been made, and for which we should be quietly thankful. Those who rejoice in the name of Catholic are foremost in their prayers and labours towards the restoration of the unity of Christendom. Charity demands that we should not be satisfied with giving anything but all to our brethren, and often we are called upon 'to speak the truth in love'; and to be cautious and critical of plans and schemes which, if carried out, will, in the end, not serve that great hope and ultimate purpose — the unity of the whole of Christendom."

The author then proceeds to examine the question of the episcopacy and shows that the Church of England does have a definite teaching regarding the office of bishops. He insists that this is a vital point that must be adhered to in negotiations for unity with the Free Churches. He then gives an exposition of the nature of the priesthood and shows how essential this office is in the Church. On this point he cites the Ordinal which states that priests alone have the authority to preach and minister the sacraments. "To discuss the question of episcopacy," he writes, "and not to face the question of the priesthood is unrealistic—because this is the heart of the matter." Finally, the Holy Eucharist as the Sacrament of unity is considered, and Fr. Raynes shows how the Eucharist is logically the attestation and the securing of the unity of the Body of Christ. For this very reason he deplores the practice of intercommunion where the basis of a common faith is wanting.

In the final article the author makes a number of suggestions which he feels would contribute toward the cause of unification. He is of the opinion, first of all, that a moratorium should be called on the number and variety of the schemes for reunion. He thinks that in many cases these have caused bewilderment and controversy. He also believes that the "interchange of pulpits" and intercommunion should be discontinued because of the tension and uneasiness that have resulted. He likewise counsels the spirit of forgiveness and prayer on the part of the Churches and suggests that plans for reunion be made only after the different bodies have considered the "causes of disunity and their consequences fearlessly, carefully, and prayerfully." In connection with the latter point the writer advocates a brief period of silent prayer on every Sunday in all churches for the restoration of Christian unity.

In relation to the ecumenical movement, Fr. Raynes has this to say: "Clearly the Anglican Communion ought not to stand aloof from the so-called oecumenical movement, and therefore should continue to take its place in such bodies as the World Council of Churches.

This is the right place for discussion of theological and moral issues, to which the Church of England has much to contribute, and from which much can be learned. If it appears negative to suggest a moratorium to scheme-making and the exchange of pulpits, etc.—the answer to that criticism is that the positive way is in co-operation with the world-wide oecumenical movement, to which the Church of England has, through Convocation and the Church Assembly, pledged itself."

Ecumenical Training Courses

Collonges-sous-Salève in Savoy was the scene in the latter part of August of another ecumenical training course organized annually by CIMADE. The theme of the course this year was the "Holy Ghost," and the lectures were conducted by the Reverend Richard Ruth (Anglican), Pastor Max Thurian (Community of Taizé), Fr. Irene Dalmais, O.P. (Roman Catholic), Dean Charles Hauter (Lutheran), and Professor P. Evdokimov (Orthodox). During the course of the lectures, a study was made on references to the Holy Ghost in the Old Testament, in the Gospels, in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the thought of St. John and St. Paul.

The aim of these courses has been in part to "acquire a serious knowledge of the doctrines on which the Churches differ and the true reasons, as the true points of separation . . . In short, the aim is to train young people to understand the significance and value of the ecumenical movement and to sustain it by their prayers, their deeds and their whole lives." (E P S)

The Lutheran World Federation and Ecumenism

During the latter part of July, the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Federation met for special sessions at Trondheim in Norway. Part of the proceedings led to the decision that the recently established Theological Department should concentrate primarily on these three subjects: the ecumenical problem, the doctrine of Church and State, and the significance of worship. Relating to the first of these, to which it was resolved to apply intensive study, the *Information Service* bulletin of the LWF commented as follows:

"First of all we have to find out the unity existing between the churches that are members of the Lutheran World Federation. Furthermore, we must also find out the relation between these churches and such other Lutheran churches as do not belong to the World Federation. Finally the question will also be extended so as to include the problem of the Lutheran churches' relation to other confessions.

"These questions have become of immediate interest through the discussion that originated in the problem as to what is implied by membership in the Lutheran World Federation, but also through the union efforts within Lutheranism which are evident in many places.

Finally also by the participation of Lutheran churches in ecumenical work this question has become of utmost importance. All this involves the necessity of working out what the unity of the Church according to Lutheran interpretation may mean. It is certainly possible that by serious discussion of this question we shall be able to arrive at joint conclusions on the 'ecumenical program' of Lutheranism.

"The study work concerning this last question should not begin until after the Evanston Assembly. However, already this year we ought to begin collecting all the material that could serve as a basis for the study work that is to come."

Referring to the matter of ecumenism, the Bishop of Lund, Dr. Anders Nygren, a former President of the LWF, has been reported as saying: "Lutheranism must, if it is to remain true to itself, develop the ecumenical tendencies inherent in it. The interest of Lutheranism in the ecumenical movement is an interest not in something foreign to it, but in something which is part of its own nature."

W.C.C. Official Terms Present Period Crucial for Ecumenism

Writing in the *Ecumenical Review* for July, the Reverend Leslie E. Cooke warns that the vision of the pioneers of the ecumenical movement is in danger of being lost sight of by the ones who have succeeded them. The author is Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales and a member of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches. His article is entitled, "Implications of Ecumenical Loyalty," and attempts to point out the advantages and disadvantages of the present status of the ecumenical movement.

"We have come so far in our togetherness," writes the Reverend Mr. Cooke, "that the next step to a closer unity is being revealed to us. We are in danger of hesitancy about taking that step. Last August at Lund, it was made clear, as Canon Leonard Hodgson rightly said, that we could not for ever go round and round interpreting ourselves to one another. We have realised, as we have often said, our Oneness in Christ. So far such realisation has not made us face our divisions as Churches. We do not yet demonstrate that because we are One in Christ we are under a primary and absolute obligation to manifest that Oneness in the healing of our divisions. How much longer can we go on speaking of that Oneness and calling each other to penitence for our divisions while remaining in our separate communions, resisting all attempts to achieve that limitation of the sovereignty of the communions which a greater unity demands? We are in danger of sinning, with our eyes open, against the Holy Spirit. Before we establish another commission of enquiry to go more deeply into the subject of unity, or appoint another committee to explore ways of co-operation, we ought frankly to ask ourselves whether we are not in fact taking evasive action from a decision which God is calling us to make, but

which because of our fear, our prejudice, our pride, or our lack of faith, we are unwilling to make.

"We are," continues the writer, "at a critical moment in the organisational life of the Ecumenical Movement. Councils of Churches, whether of a nation or of the world, represent a contradiction, a dilemma. The very name is both the measure of our achievement and the indictment of our failure. There is only one reason for the existence of a Council of Churches, and that is that it should be living for its death. We may yet find ourselves in the ironical position that the organisation created to express ecumenicity has become the barrier to the fulfilment of ecumenicity. The peril is that we may find in a Council of Churches a means of fellowship and co-operation which we can support without being fundamentally disturbed. Periodic participation may be like the periodic taking of pain-killing drugs; it may ease the pain of division while leaving the cause of pain untreated.

"Then shall they say unto Him, 'Did we not at great cost send our delegates to Amsterdam, Chichester, Toronto, Rolle, and Lucknow? Have we not shared in the discussions of Faith and Order? Have not our representatives served on many committees in Thy Name and in Thy Name made many declarations?'

"And the Lord of the One Church shall answer them saying, 'Depart from me, I never knew you, for while you professed to gather my flock you scattered them, and while you proclaimed your oneness in Me you maintained your divisions. Behold, you have healed the hurt of My Church and of My people lightly."

AROUND THE WORLD

NORWAY

800th Anniversary of Hierarchy

Amid solemn ceremonies on July 26 and 27, at which Cardinal Griffin of England was a special legate, Norwegian Catholics gathered together at Trondheim and Stiklestad to celebrate the eighth centenary of the establishment of the hierarchy in Norway. The celebration took place to commemorate the consecration of the first archbishop of that country in the year 1153 by the English Cardinal, Nicholas Breakspeare, who later became Pope Hadrian IV. The year before in 1152 the Cardinal had been sent to Norway to arrange for the new Norwegian hierarchy, and in 1153 that country was given its first archbishop. Up to that time Norway had been for some years subject to the Archbishop of Lund, then residing in Denmark. The new church province resulting from the creation of a new hierarchy extended beyond the limits of Norway; it likewise included Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys, and the Isle of Man.

As guest of honor for the centenary, Cardinal Griffin was celebrant of the solemn pontifical Mass at Trondheim. He also addressed the assembled Catholics and recalled the friendly spiritual ties that existed between England and Norway at the time of Cardinal Breakspeare, and went on to compare the lot of the Church in both countries after the Reformation. Besides Bishop Mangers and Bishop Ruth of Norway, present also for the occasion were Bishop Suhr of Denmark, Bishop Nelson of Sweden, and Bishop Cobbens of Finland. Representing the Lutheran Church was Bishop Fjellbu who attended the high Mass and a meeting held in the evening. As a gesture of good will, the Lutherans offered their Catholic countrymen the use of the 13th century church of St. Olav in Stiklestad for services on the feast of their patron Saint.

To underline the event in a special manner, the announcement came from Rome that the Holy Father had elevated the vicariate of Oslo to the rank of a diocese, thus re-establishing the hierarchy for the Catholics of Norway.

The eighth centenary of the Norwegian hierarchy was likewise the occasion for a nation-wide observance on the part of the Lutheran Church. The most important celebration centered about the Cathedral at Trondheim which has belonged to the Lutherans since the time of the Reformation. Festivities there began in the presence of King Haakon and the Royal Family and attended by the Bishop of London, officials of the Lutheran World Federation, and representatives of the Orthodox and the Free Churches.

Christianity made its first entrance into Norwegian life in the ninth century, chiefly through the contacts made by the Vikings with the British Isles and other parts of Europe. They, in turn, helped to spread the Gospel by taking back missionaries with them mostly from England and Ireland. It was in the eleventh century, however, that the Catholic faith reached its full flowering in Norway under the leadership and inspiration of St. Olav, its martyr king and patron saint. The famous Cathedral of Trondheim was originally erected in his honor; and after the establishment of the hierarchy in that city, it became a national pilgrimage center for the Norwegian people.

With the coming of the Reformation in 1537, the long continuity of Catholic life and culture was broken when the last Catholic archbishop, Olav Engelbrektsson was forced into exile. The laws that were subsequently passed meant the virtual disappearance of the old faith from Norwegian soil, and it was not until 1814 that the new constitution of an independent Norway made religious freedom possible, with the exception of the still-existent ban against the Jesuit Fathers.

The first real step towards a renascence of Norwegian Catholic life occurred in 1843 when a group of Catholics in Oslo, although of foreign extraction, obtained permission from King Karl-Johan to form a parish there and to have the freedom to worship. Since that time, progress has been very gradual, with Norway at the present time having one diocese, two bishops, and approximately 5000 Catholics.

(*C. Herald*)

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POLAND

Persecution by Government Intensified

With the internment at the end of September of Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of Poland, the tide of persecution against Polish Catholics has reached a new level. Announcement of the Cardinal's suspension was broadcast by the Warsaw radio which claimed that the prelate had violated the principles of the 1950 Church-State agreement by engaging in activities against the civil authorities. The Government therefore "has forbidden Archbishop Wyszynski to carry on his functions connected with his position in the Church hierarchy."

The Warsaw radio further declared that the "Polish Episcopate, having reached decisions insuring the continuity of the Episcopate's guidance, turned to the Government with the request to give its permission for Archbishop Wyszynski to take up residence in one of the monasteries. The proposal has been agreed to by the Government."

The deposition of the Cardinal Primate follows in the wake of the trial of Bishop of Kielce, Mgr. Czeslaw Kaczmarek, who has been accused of having been an "active supporter" of Hitler and of striving to "weaken the spirit of resistance among the Polish people in the

face of impending aggression." One of the principal charges against the Cardinal is that he failed to denounce the imprisoned bishop.

A reflection of the era of persecution which the Church in Poland is undergoing can be seen from the following citation from an article in *Zycie*, the Polish Catholic weekly of London, as quoted in *The Tablet*: "The number of imprisoned priests is uncertain, because when priests are imprisoned they are usually ordered to conceal their names and their profession, under threat of even worse penalties. Moreover, the arrest is nearly always secret, and the priest is represented as being 'missing.' But it is estimated on the basis of careful calculations that the number of priests in prisons and concentration camps is between eight hundred and one thousand, even excluding many who have been deported to Russia, and taking account of the rather high mortality rate in the camps. This means that roughly every tenth priest in Poland is imprisoned."

The *Osservatore Romano* reported messages of sympathy for the arrested Cardinal from all over the world, while in England the Archbishop of Canterbury broadcast the following message:

"The news that Cardinal Wyszynski, Primate of Poland, has been removed from his post and confined to a monastery is the latest of the many wounds inflicted upon Christian Churches by Communist Governments. Christians everywhere will be grieved and distressed that the arbitrary power of an atheist Government should thus attempt to stifle and disrupt the life of the national Church of Poland. All lovers of freedom will be shocked to see this fresh denial of the rights of open charge and fair trial which are part of a civilised order of society.

"This action is the climax of attacks the Polish Government has been making for a long time past. Wherever the Christian Church exists, it is, or ought to be, by virtue of its faith in God, the defender of the true liberties and religious freedoms which are part of God's gifts to man. It has not always been alert to its duty: it is not always wise in doing it. There is always liable to be friction between the proper rights of the State and the proper duty of the Church. But in these days, and in many parts of the world, the State is claiming for Caesar things which belong not to it but to God; and men are being deprived of their true liberties, and Christians are being persecuted for their faith. The prayers of all Christians in Britain will go out to all who thus suffer, and particularly at this moment to the Cardinal and his faithful people in their hour of trial."

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GERMANY

Dr. Adenauer Attends Hamburg Kirchentag

The fifth German Evangelical *Kirchentag* took place at Hamburg during the month of August. Besides the large attendance from West

Germany, the number of participants was increased by some ten thousand persons coming from the Eastern Zone.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of the Federal Republic came in person to the congress to express the good wishes of the Government and to make a generous donation towards assisting those who had come to attend from the Soviet Zone. Speaking of relations between the Catholic and Protestant Churches, Dr. Adenauer remarked that at the present time there could be only one form of rivalry among them, "that of Christian charity." It was also noted that many Catholics in Hamburg had provided accommodations for Protestants coming to the *Kirchentag*.

The President of the *Kirchentag*, Dr. Rheinhold von Thadden began his opening address by expressing the hope that "the Holy Ghost may kindle the fire of God in our midst, that may open our eyes to the sins and failings in our life and our Church, and that it may then move and fill and restart us with its holy power." He also welcomed delegations of Baptists, Methodists, Anglicans and Reformed, Lutherans and Orthodox who were present from other countries. (E P S)

Pax Christi Congress at Altenberg

The Pax Christi movement, which is based on the Franciscan ideal of St. Francis and St. Clare and which saw its origin in France shortly after the last war, held its international congress in August at Altenberg. Delegates from different countries and many members of the European hierarchy were present for the meeting which was presided over by Cardinal Maurice Feltin of Paris who is president of this movement for peace.

In his address to the assembled delegates, Cardinal Feltin said: "We believe in the future of humanity. We are not Utopians, but we know that grace is stronger than sin." Then outlining a conception of peace going far beyond national and political limitations, he declared that "the Pax Christi building we wish to erect exists for all countries, not only for Germany and France, which henceforth desire to be brothers for all time. It is not a question of merely building a chapel. We want to build a symbolical Cathedral in which all peoples have their own chapel."

Sending greetings to Altenberg by telegram, Pope Pius called the congress an "evident testimony of the desire of Catholics to tear down the barriers of hate, materialism, and egoism in international life."

During the course of the meeting many proposals for the development of a united Christian Europe were made by priests and Bishops from Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Holland, and Austria. One feature in connection with the congress was a "peace pilgrimage" of youth groups from various countries. (N C)

FRANCE

Msgr. Montini's Letter to French Social Week

With Cardinal Feltin of Paris and M. Robert Schuman on hand as special guests, the fortieth annual French Social Week held its sessions this summer at Pau. In its message to the public the Social Week termed the economic and social inequalities existing among nations the biggest obstacles to world peace in our day.

The convention was marked by a notable message sent to the delegates in the name of the Holy Father by Msgr. Giovanni B. Montini, Vatican Pro-Secretary of State. Though he attributed the evils afflicting mankind at the present time in part to economic instability, the Pro-Secretary of State wrote that "their root is deeper and more intrinsic, belonging to the sphere of religious belief and moral convictions."

"This examination," the letter stated, "of the problems of peace by men of faith, thought, and action is most timely today, when men's souls are more troubled than ever before. Never in human history has greater discord been known. This world-wide dissension invades the daily lives of people. It feeds and maintains social conflict. Its origins are of an ideological as much as of an economic nature. Its psychological effects sap will power and cloud judgment. Even the flag of peace, unfurled for partisan ends, frequently divides mankind."

"To be an apostle of peace," the letter went on, "is, above all things, for a Christian to know and support all the thought of the Church on peace. Today, despite the severe lesson of events, many Christians still resist the advice and exhortation of the Papacy. How many, for example, continue to exist within the narrow limits of a nationalistic chauvinism, quite incompatible with the courageous effort to envisage the world community always demanded by the popes of recent times?

"But more numerous are those who have not renounced their strange inertia in the face of the repeated appeals of the Holy Father not to take action against inaction in the great spiritual battle, the result of which will be the edification, or otherwise, of the soul of future society."

"The Holy Father, therefore, asks us to examine our consciences. We readily agree that world tension today affects the private lives of each one of us. By what fatal lack of logic do we refuse to seek first the remedy in our inner selves?

"The Christian who overcomes within himself the obstacles to an understanding of others and to brotherly co-operation with them has already made an effective contribution to peace. And what are these inner obstacles but a partisan and sectarian spirit incapable of a disinterested search for truth, an emotionalism open to all divisive propaganda and insensible to the commands of justice, and a self-righteous attitude ever ready to see faults in others, but blind to

its own prejudices and unbending toward those who are victims of the error it is fighting?

"Let all followers of Christ, on the contrary, cast peaceful and catholic eyes upon the world. Mindful of the commandments of the Master, let them investigate more deeply the demands of charity. Let them meditate upon His words and His example of love for His enemies, and let them bear in mind His great lesson of forgiving injuries." (N C)

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ITALY

International Congress for Peace and Christian Civilization

Florence was the setting towards the end of June of the Second International Congress for Peace and Christian Civilization. The Congress was inaugurated last year, principally through the efforts of Mayor George La Pira of that city, and has for its scope the promotion of the unity of mankind on a spiritual basis. Last year's delegates were present from thirty-three nations and discussed the theme: "Civilization and Peace."

This year representatives from forty countries took part in the sessions which centered about the theme: "Prayer and Poetry." For those who might object to the abstract nature of the topic, Fr. Jean Danielou, S.J., one of the principal speakers, explained that meditation on prayer and poetry is to deal with human values of great significance for any civilization. "It is not technical equipment," he said, "which has never been so far developed as today, but the inward spirit which this age lacks for the recovery of its balance. Without that spirit even the most advanced peoples are but barbarians."

Among the delegates present for the congress was M. Caovan-Chieu who represented Viet-Nam. Commenting on the value of the undertaking, he declared: "My country belongs to the Buddhist civilization, but nevertheless supports this Christian assembly with enthusiasm, because it will deal with problems of supreme moral value." (*The Tablet*)

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ROME

Church Does Not Impede Scientific Discovery

In an address to an international group of geneticists meeting in Rome recently, Pope Pius XII affirmed that the Church is the friend of genuine scientific inquiry. "The Church puts no barriers in the way of scientific research nor does she place limitations upon scholars and scientists in the pursuit of truth," he told them.

"Neither from the side of reason nor from the side of thought oriented in a Christian sense are any barriers raised to research, to knowledge, to affirmation of truth," the Holy Father went on to say.

"There are some barriers, but they do not serve to imprison truth. Their purpose is to prevent hypotheses that have not been proved from being taken for established facts and to keep people from forgetting the necessity of checking one source of knowledge against another and of not erroneously interpreting the scale of values and the degree of certitude of a source of knowledge. It is to avoid these sources of error that there are barriers, but there are none for truth." (N C)

Greek Prime Minister Visits the Pope

An event of considerable importance took place at the end of September which observers feel will lead to an improvement of relations between the Holy See and Greece. This was the visit paid to the Holy Father by the Greek Prime Minister, Marshal Papagos, and the Foreign Minister, M. Stephanopoulos at Castel Gandolfo. This marked the first time that a member of the Greek Government has made an official visit to the Pope.

No diplomatic relations exist between Greece and the Holy See at the present time. An Apostolic Delegation does exist in Athens, but this has not been occupied for some time because of difficulties with the Greek Government which up to now has permitted the Apostolic Delegate to remain only on a temporary "tourist visa."

Before the special audience took place, the Greek Foreign Minister was asked if it would be a step towards the establishment of diplomatic relations, and in reply M. Stephanopoulos said: "We cannot fail to consider that the Vatican has always been among the first to show sympathy when misfortunes have fallen on Greece." This was an obvious reference to the interest and sympathy that the Pope has shown towards the Greek people during and since the last war, particularly with regard to displaced Greek children and the havoc caused by the recent earthquake. (*Catholic Herald*)

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THE UNITED STATES

Statistics on Church Membership

The 1953 Yearbook of American Churches, sponsored by the National Council of Churches of Christ, reveals that church membership in the United States has surpassed the figure of 92,000,000. This represents a gain of 3,604,124 over last year's total of 88,673,005 and is based on reports submitted by 251 religious bodies.

Both Catholics and Protestants reflected an increase over the general population growth of the country with Catholics numbering 30,253,427 and the combined membership for all Protestant denominations adding up to 54,299,963. The figure reported for Jewish congregations was unchanged from the previous year, remaining in the vicinity of 5,000,000. The *Yearbook* stated that compared with census figures

for the United States, Catholics form 19.3 per cent of the population, while Protestant Churches taken together form 34.7 per cent.

The *Yearbook* likewise shows that there are fifteen Protestant groups claiming a membership of over one million. The Methodist Church leads in this respect with 9,180,428 adherents. The next largest is the Southern Baptist Convention with 7,634,493 members. Then follow the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., with 4,467,779; National Baptist Convention of America, 2,606,289; Protestant Episcopal Church, 2,482,887; Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 2.441,933; United Lutheran Church in America, 1,962,256. The other three denominations making up the first ten are: The International Convention of the Disciples of Christ, the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, and the American Baptist Convention.

According to this latest survey conducted by the National Council of Churches, the United States has seen its church membership double in the past twenty-six years.

Christian Unity Conference at Graymoor

Inaugurated by the celebration of a solemn Mass by the Very Reverend Angelus Delahunt, Father General of the Friars of the Atonement, the fourth annual Christian Unity Conference met at Graymoor, New York, during the first part of August. Under the chairmanship of Fr. Edward Hanahoe, S.A., papers were read and discussed by the Friar delegates emphasizing the breadth of scope entailed in the work for Christian unity and suggesting practical measures for the promotion of the Chair of Unity Octave which saw its first observance at Graymoor.

Speaking at the Mass, the Fr. General pointed to the need of imitating Father Paul Wattson, the founder of the Octave, in his zeal and his deep interest in the efforts towards the unity of Christendom. "This work," he said, "in a human sense is overwhelming, and only under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost and with the realization that Christian unity is the prayer and will of Our Blessed Lord, will the Atonement Community continue to make strides in the fulfillment of its main vocation of unity."

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ENGLAND

New Minister to the Holy See

Douglas Howard, who has lately served as ambassador to Uruguay, has been named Britain's new minister to the Holy See. He is succeeding Sir Walter Roberts who has retired from active duty in the diplomatic service.

Great Britain has maintained diplomatic relations with the Holy See since 1914 but only through the minor office of a minister at the

Vatican. The latter, however, has no diplomatic representation in London. The Apostolic Delegate to England, Archbishop William Godfrey, holds a purely ecclesiastical office without diplomatic status or privilege. The Holy See also has Apostolic Delegates in other parts of the Commonwealth, as for example in Canada, South Africa and Australia. (N C)

Lincoln Memorial to Robert Grosseteste

Commemorative ceremonies were held this summer in Lincoln Cathedral in honor of Robert Grosseteste, the great theologian and philosopher, who was Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253. During the ceremonies, a memorial to the famous Bishop was dedicated in one of the chapels of the Cathedral in the form of a ledger carved in Hornton stone with the arms attributed to Grosseteste and those of the see of Lincoln. The ledger is seen supported by two friars, thus recalling his close friendship for the Franciscans who were then attending Oxford University.

Present for the event in Lincoln Cathedral was a large congregation made up mainly of university graduates in academic dress, together with members of the clergy and state officials. Special guests for the day were Lord Halifax, Chancellor of Oxford University and Bishop Wand of London who delivered the sermon.

Paying tribute to the vast erudition of Grosseteste, Bishop Wand said that he towered head and shoulders above his contemporaries of the great thirteenth century. He declared further that recent research has demonstrated the importance of Grosseteste's learning. Bishop Wand also brought out the genuine admiration that the famous Bishop of Lincoln had for the work of the Friars whose "Regent of Studies" he was at the University of Oxford. (*Church Times*)

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EGYPT

Religious Amity Continues

Reports from Egypt reveal that the favorable attitude of the Naguib regime towards non-Moslems is continuing. This has been typified of late by a nation-wide poster depicting a Moslem mosque and a Christian church side by side. Across the top of the poster is the motto: "We are all Egyptians," while below the illustration is found a verse by the late Egyptian poet Shawqi, which reads: "Religion is for the Ever Glorious, the Almighty One; if God will, He can unite the nations."

Further evidence of government friendliness is seen from a recent visit by General Naguib to the Patriarch. He also attended services in a Christian Coptic church and paid a visit to the largest of the Protestant churches in Cairo. (E P S)

LEBANON

New Armenian Church Consecrated by Cardinal

His Eminence, Cardinal Agagianian, Patriarch of Cilicia for the Armenians, was present recently in Bourj-Hammoud, a quarter east of Beirut, to consecrate a new church erected in honor of the Redeemer. The consecration took place amid impressive ceremonies attended by the members of the Armenian Episcopal Conference, which had met two days previously, and by many of the laity, both Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

In connection with this event, the Sacred Liturgy was celebrated in a solemn manner on the following day. The President of the Republic, M. Camillo Chamoun, and two Government ministers were among those in attendance at the Liturgy which was broadcast by radio. An appropriate sermon to mark the festivities was delivered by Cardinal Agagianian, who likewise presided at the traditional procession of the Blessed Sacrament in the afternoon. (S I C O)

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INDIA

The Death of Mar Ivanios

After a period of serious illness from which it had appeared that he might recover, Mar Ivanios, the Syro-Malankara Archbishop of Trivandrum passed away on July 15 in his seventy-first year. For many years he had been one of the foremost exponents of union with the Church of Rome, having himself entered it in 1930. With him eventually came a great many of his Syro-Malankara countrymen, so that today the Catholics of that rite number in the vicinity of 70,000 souls.

Tribute to the late Archbishop was paid by thousands of his devoted followers at his funeral services which took place at St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral at Trivandrum. From there a solemn procession made its way to the crypt of the still unfinished Cathedral where the body of Mar Ivanios, dressed in his episcopal robes, was laid to rest. (N C)

Controversy Over Christian Missionaries Continues

The situation in India relating to the status of foreign missionaries is still a matter of concern for the Christian denominations there. Government quarters have recently taken an unfriendly attitude to what they term proselytizing by missioners, and certain Hindu leaders have accused the 25,000 mission workers in India of attempting to usurp political power and of fomenting anti-Indian sentiment among the natives. Open Government persecution has already been reported in Sarguja and Bastar, and officials have demanded that missionaries confine their efforts to educational, medical, and social fields.

In the face of numerous protests from the Christian communities, the Government has appointed a three man committee to investigate the situation. All three members are Hindus, a fact which has not been at all favorable to the groups concerned who have registered just complaints about the unfairness of this arrangement. Christian leaders have therefore appealed for a more representative committee, or at least an impartial one composed of Moslem and Parsi judges. In a joint letter to the Chief Minister, the Bishop of Nagpur, Mgr. Eugene D'Souza, and the Anglican Bishop, Dr. Sinker, both urged that a Christian be named on the investigating committee. Otherwise, they claimed, the inquiry would be entirely one-sided.

Hopes of a satisfactory settlement of the controversy were raised by a visit of Cardinal Gracias to New Delhi to confer with government leaders about their newly-adopted policy. It is presumed that the Cardinal pointed out how groundless were the charges against the missionaries and also that he appealed for a more equitable treatment of them in accordance with the spirit of the Indian Constitution.

(N C)

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THAILAND

Second Native Bishop Named

Thailand, the new name for Siam, has now two native bishops following the appointment of Father Michael on Prakhonchit to be Titular Bishop of Blaundo and Vicar Apostolic of Thare. The other native bishop is the Most Rev. Francis Tsinguen, Vicar Apostolic of Chantaburi, who was named to the post this past January.

Thailand has always had an independent status but is at present being faced with the threat of a Red invasion. Catholic missionaries first made their appearance there at the beginning of the 16th century. Actual organization of the Church, however, began in 1664 when Bishop Pallu of the Paris Foreign Mission Society was made Vicar Apostolic.

Buddhism is the official religion for Thailand, numbering some 18,500,000 followers, or ninety-nine per cent of the entire population. Although this is the state religion, there is complete freedom for other faiths. Today Catholics in Thailand number slightly more than 50,000.

(N C)

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IRAN

Reconstruction of the Cathedral at Rezayeh

The work of reconstructing the ruined Cathedral of Urmia (now Rezayeh) has officially begun with the laying in place of the first stone by His Excellency, Mgr. Zaya Dachtou, Archbishop of Urmia. Mos-

of the Chaldean Catholics of the area were present for an event that they have been looking forward to for many years.

The old Cathedral of Urmia was destroyed during the days of persecution in Iran in July, 1918. At that time a congregation of bishops, priests, sisters, and lay people who were in the cathedral were surrounded and put to death for their faith. It is for this reason that the site of that martyrdom is so sacred for the faithful of Iran who wish to build there a worthy monument in memory of that heroic sacrifice for the faith. Upon its completion the new cathedral will be dedicated to the Mother of God. (S I C O)

Literature for the Chair of Unity Octave

With the observance of the Chair of Unity Octave close at hand, some of our readers may wish to avail themselves of prayer leaflets, books, and pamphlets dealing with the theme of Christian unity. The Chair of Unity Octave National Office at Graymoor, New York, has an extensive list of printed material available by different authors treating of the various aspects of the subject. A catalogue of these items may be had by writing to the National Director, Rev. Edward F. Hanahoe, Graymoor, Garrison, N.Y.

BOOK REVIEWS

E. C. Rich: *Spiritual Authority in the Church of England. An Enquiry*
Longmans, London 1953. 218 pages. Price 21 shills.

This book is divided into two parts. The first, the smaller part of some 73 pages, is a historical survey tracing the changes of thought about the seat of religious authority from the mediaeval papacy through the Conciliar Movement, the Reformation, the Puritans, the Quakers, and various Anglican tendencies up to Newman's return to antiquity. There is not much originality in this part, especially in its earlier pages where the author is content to rely on few authorities and some of those now rather outdated.

The interest of the book lies rather in the longer second part where religious authority is treated of doctrinally. The six chapters of this section deal with The Question of Authority in Religion; The Nature of the Church; Holy Scripture and Tradition; The Authority of Doctrinal Interpretation; The Limits of Rational Enquiry; and Towards a Solution.

To the question: Where does authority reside in the Church? Canon Rich's answer is what is said by most Anglicans—In Scripture Tradition and sound learning; where he differs from many of his co-religionalists is in the values he allots to these three components. He does not, as so many Protestants do, divide Tradition sharply off from Scripture and put these two into opposition to each other—"The Bible standing over against Tradition," as a perpetual challenge and correction. Rather he sees them as two channels of the same thing: written Tradition and oral Tradition, the former a crystallisation of the latter and dependent on it in the first place for its canonicity. Oral Tradition is manifested by the unconscious agreement of the early Christian writers: by the decisions of General Councils, "of which the first four (not the 'four first' as on pp. 25, 98) of the individed Church are accepted by the Church of England" (why not then the first six?) infallible in themselves even though that infallibility was recognised only later by their universal acceptance by the Church: by the Creeds.

The last criterion is "sound learning," i.e. the right (and, indeed, the duty) of applying the critical judgment as the supreme test in controversies of faith. The writer recognises the dangers inherent in this—on the one hand of confining certainty to the first few centuries, and on the other, of uncontrolled liberalism. In various parts of the book he accounts for differences of doctrine in and between the Anglican Church and other Churches by the fact that, as the Church is a divine-human society that has fallen short of its ideals, it inevitably falls short, too, in respect of that certainty of doctrine that its Founder

intended it to have. But Scripture and Tradition indicate the lines: history should be interpreted according to it.

In the later pages of the book, the writer's thought changes direction somewhat. As the Church lives on, developments and implications of the Faith there will be. How to decide which are true, which false? "For that purpose there must be some ultimate authority who can speak for the whole Body." History alone cannot decide, just as (says the author) it cannot decide on the necessity of episcopacy and the papal claims. "By her separation from Rome ... the Church of England did as a matter of fact become divorced from the centre of unity and she lost the power of determining the development of the Faith." Acceptance of the papal claims would enable "everything else to fall into place." But such acceptance cannot be the fruit of critical judgment alone: it needs "light supernatural."

One of the most interesting features of this book, at least for the Catholic reader, is the development in the author's thought as he progresses. He himself says that he began his enquiry with the assumption "that there was no infallible endowment in the Christian Religion." Faith would lead to truth, and experience based on it would produce spiritual conviction. He ends by conceding that the Holy Spirit is "guiding His Church both in preserving 'the truth as it is in Jesus' and in clarifying its implications for faith" and that there should be infallibility somewhere. What are the organs of that guidance, he does not clearly state. Faith alone can supply the answer; but faith that is more than mere intellectual conviction; faith that is a gift of God, a "light supernatural."

J. Gill, S.J.

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The Uniate Romanian Church (Biserica Romana Unita - Doua sute cinci zeci de ani de istorie). Madrid, 1952. 40 illustrations, large format, Pp. 417.

The twenty-first of October, 1948, the very day the Uniate Church of Romania was about to celebrate the two-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the union of the Transylvania Romanians with the Holy Catholic Church, was the tragic day that marked the dissolution of that venerable and glorious Church at the hands of the Bucharest Communists (1). Precisely on that date it was declared dissolved and inexistent by the authorities of the Communistic Government in control. Its faithful, numbering more than one and a half million souls, were obliged to suffer affiliation with the "Orthodox" Church. The Hierarchy was

(1) *Unitas* does not normally use the term *Uniate* in referring to Catholics of the Oriental rites, since it is a term that is inexact and often offensive. However, because the Byzantine rite Church in Romania is officially called "Biserica Romana Unità" and any expression like "United Church" could be still more misleading, we feel that the term *Uniate* may be justifiably used, by way of exception, in this case.

imprisoned, the priests as well were imprisoned or dispersed. Church goods were confiscated by the Government, and in part turned over to the "Orthodox" hierarchy.

During the month of October of last year, a book commemorating this sad date appeared bearing the title *The Uniate Romanian Church*.

It was published by a group of capable Romanian Uniate scholars. They wished to show their filial love for the Catholic Church in general, and the Uniate Church of their fatherland in particular; they wished as well to publish a work that would constitute "the testimony of the solidarity of those now on this side of the Iron Curtain with those who are on the other side."

In the mind of the authors, it is a book that will furnish the readers with a synthetic and objective view of the history of the Uniate Church of Romania. "The Uniate Romanian Church," say the authors in the preface, "in those two and a half centuries of activity has had a conspicuous role in the religious, cultural and national life of the Romanian people." Obstacles had to be overcome: "To contain all this period of time within an apt synthesis, no few difficulties were encountered, principally because existing monographs of a serious nature on the various personalities of the Church and the institutions which have had a large influence in the past were quite scarce... thus while certain phases of this period of history have been presented in an exhaustive way, others have been handled only sketchily, others have been omitted altogether, leaving to future historians the burden of more profound researches, and making a more exhaustive presentation." The book is, notwithstanding, a faithful and objective sort of history of the Uniate Romanian Church from its origins up to its glorious martyrdom—her pledge of future Resurrection for the sake of the Romanian people.

The work is divided into seven chapters, and in them the authors have developed their theme. The first chapter, written by Msgr. Louis Tautu, one of the most outstanding Romanian scholars in church history, deals with the theme, "Christianity among the Romanians." It accounts for the Evangelization of the Romanian people from the time of its first years of existence—carried out by the Roman colonizers brought into Dacia by the conquering Emperors—of the martyrs of that nascent church, especially with its rite and dependence upon Rome, maintained up to the ninth century, or until the baptism of the Bulgarians.

In the second chapter, Fr. Pamfilu Carnatiu writes on "The Union of the Transylvania Romanians with the Church of Rome." This union was an event of capital importance in the history of the Romanian Church and nation. Since this most important act has been combatted and badly interpreted by adversaries, the author shows its determining causes as well as the difficulties it has had to surmount merely to remain in existence.

The third chapter treats of the "Uniate Church from the Year 1700 to 1918." Here we find an excellent account of the more significant facts and deeds of this long period. Special attention is given to the admirable figures of the Pastors who guided the life of the Church. The authors of this chapter are the reverend Flavian Popan and Carol Capros.

In the fifth chapter, Pamfilu Carnatiu makes a succinct historical account of each of the five dioceses which compose the ecclesiastical provinces of Alba-Giulia and Fagaras—the Metropolate of Blaj, and the Dioceses of Oradea-Mare, Cluj, Lugoj, and Maramures.

There follows an interesting chapter on "The United Romanian Church Between the Two World Wars." Msgr. Octavian Barlea is the exceptionally well-informed author. Here we find an account of the life and activities of the Church during the period between the realization of national unity at the end of the First World War and the beginning of the second conflict. Merits and defects alike are handled with true scholar's serenity.

In the sixth chapter, Frs. Alexander Mircea, Pamfilu Carnatiu and Mircea Todericiu deal at length with the violent and brutal persecution unleashed four years ago by the Communists of Bucharest that culminated in the suppression of the Uniate Church of Romania—a suppression in the official sense alone, to be sure, for it has indeed continued to live, and still lives in the conscience and the faith of the righteous. If on the one hand this sorrowful chapter must speak of the cruelty of the godless and the bad faith of those who have allowed themselves to become their ignoble instruments in striking down their brethren of faith and of blood, it also recounts the heroism and glorious martyrdom of the worthier sons that better typify this resplendent Oriental Church.

Fr. Alexander Mircea composed the final chapter. It is entitled, "The Religious Problem in Romania." With thorough knowledge of his material, and clear, sensitively understanding insight, he describes the religious situation of the Romanian Orthodox Church, its nationalism, its directing mentality, the obstacles and prejudices that keep it aloof from the Catholic Church. He states in conclusion the conditions of a religious rebirth in Romania.

This book, addressed to a general Romanian speaking public, is written according to scientific norms. It is especially directed to non-Catholic Romanians to whom it would convey a true picture of the Greek-Catholic Church. Indeed, until now, it must be acknowledged, they have not enjoyed a clear, well-founded notion of what it actually is.

The copious notes and citations at the end of each chapter give evidence of the objectivity and seriousness which has guided the authors of this work. It has the further merit of furnishing the readers with a good number of illustrations showing personages, institutions and noteworthy events in the history of the Romanian Church.

When one considers the method followed in setting forth the events and facts—objective and serene in manner—and the varied, interesting matters treated, one may well say that this book constitutes an act of homage offered by these worthy and faithful Romanian priests to their martyred Church. Even more it is a positive contribution, a promising step ahead toward a better understanding and final peaceful union between the two Churches—Oriental and Occidental. Wherefore, the authors merit all praise from the countrymen of both faiths, and from all those who have at heart the work of unity in the one Church of Christ.

JOHN FILIP